ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ:

OR, THE

Institution and LIFE SMICAN

CYRUS the GREAT.

WRITTEN

By that famous Philosopher and General, Xenophon of Athens.

And from the Original Greek made English,

The first four Books

By Francis Digby, late of Queens Colledge in Oxford; The four last by John Norris, Fellow of All-Souls Coll. Oxford.

Affyrio, Medoque tulit moderamina Perses.
Claud. de laud. Stilic.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Matthew Gillissower, at the Spread Eagle in Westminster-Hall, and James Norris, at the Kings-Arms without Temple-Bar. 1685.



for Matt: Gilliflomer & James Norris.

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881 X22, E.L.

To the Right Honourable

Robert Earl of Ailesbury and Elgin, Vicount Bruce of Ampthill, Baron Bruce of Wharlton, Skelton, and Kinloss, Lord of the Honour of Ampthill, High Steward of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the Counties of Bedford and Huntington, and one of the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, &c.

MY LORD,

THE Presumption mould be too great, should I offer a Work of less esteem than this of Xenophon's to a Person of your A 2 Lord-

Lordship's Quality and Honour But as all Ages past have given ahip to this Character of Persecti-Universal Testimony of their valun in general, and that none has for this Wife Book: so I havqualled your Lordship in that reason to believe all to come, miarticular Part which consists in as generally approve my Choice Landour and Forgiveness. 'Tis your Lordship sor its Patron. Fobis, my Lord, which has hardwho so sit to desend the Cyrused me to the boldness of this Adthat was design'd a Pattern folress, which I hope your Lord-Princes and Great men to imbip will Pardon from tate, as one so remarkably eminent for Loyalty? Whose De scent is from a Race of Kings. whose Education has been agree able to so bigh a Birth, and, what is yet more rare, whose Virtue fully answer both. This I may Jay without being suspected for flattery, that no one has made a nearer approach than your Lord-(bit

My Lord,

Your Lordships

most Obedient and most Humble Servant

M. Gilliflower.

THE

PREFACE.

HE Author of this Incomparable Piece, for which all Antiquity has juitly had so great a Value, was Xenophon of Athens, a Man no less famous in an Active than in a Contemplative Life; and perhaps the only Person upon Record whose Words and Actions so highly adorn'd the Philosophy he profess'd.

He was born in 'Ercheja, an Athenian Town 'Hesseh. belonging to the Tribe Ageis, so called from in voce Ageus immediate Successor to Pandion King of Egysta. Athens. Tho the time of his Birth be no where expressly declared, yet by comparing Stesseldes in Laertius (who says he dy'd the first Year of

the 105 Olympiad) with Lucian (who affirms * de Lonhe out-liv'd 90 Years) 'tis manifest, He must gavis. have been born in, or before, the first year of the 82 Olympiad. His Father's Name was Grydlus, which Name continu'd in the Family for

feveral Generations

He laid the Foundation of his after-Greatness in the School of Socrates, the then celebrated Philosopher of Greece, and whom the Delphick Oracle had pronounc'd the wifest of Men. Of Laert, in him our Author was a great Admirer, and a studies Imitator; whose religious Deportment towards the Gods, whose Constancy, Temperance, and Resolution, he carefully transcribed in the whole Conduct of his Life. How much he how A 4 nour'd

nour'd him, appears by that elegant Defence he made for him before his Judges, (tho, in truth, Socrates's Vertues were his best Apology) where he boldly taxes, and smartly resutes, the malicious Calumnics of Anytus and Melitus, his inveterate and falle Accusers. He was the first that committed to Writing the Precepts and Memoirs of his Master; which he has perform'd with such Accurateness and Fidelity, that therein you may read the very Sense and Soul of Socrates. The fame thing indeed was afterwards done, among Laert. in others, by his Fellow-Pupil Plato; but he has every where intermixt fo many Excursions of his own, that it is not easie to distinguish the Master from his Scholar. Nor was Socrates less sollicitous for his beloved Xenophon, as will appear by this one Instance. In that memorable Peloponnesian War betwixt the Lacedamonians, and the Athenians, they were both personally engag'd in the Fight before Delium; where the Athenians being worsted, and flying before the

*Strab.Ge- Baotians, * Xenophon, then but very young, was overthrown, and unhors'd in the Flight; which Socrates perceiving, took him up, and carry'd off upon his Shoulders till the Enemy gave over their Pursuit. His fecond Military Effort, was his famous

Lord Bacon, bc.

org. L. g.

'Avassags with the younger Cyrus, against his Bro-3Sir Walter ther Artaxerxes. I know some very Learned 3 Men affirm he had never seen the Wars before this Persian Expedition; but this I suppose is meant of Foreign Wars; because Greece, being at that time, and having been for many Years before, the Scat and School of Martial Discipline, 'tis highly probable, that a young Gentleman, of

his Generofity and Courage, would not be altogether unacquainted therewith. This War he engag'd himself in at the earnest Sollicitations of his dear Friend Proxenus the Bagtian, once a Scholar to that fam'd Orator and Philosopher Gorgias the Leontine, but now residing at Cyrus's Court at Sardis in Lydia. Thither went Xenophon, having first consulted his Master Socrates, and then the Oracle at Delphos. Arriving at Sardis, he found Cyrus ready for his March, who entertain'd him with all imaginable Expressions of Friendship, and held him in no less Esteem than he did Proxenus himself. However, he then accepted of no Command, but follow'd the Army as a Voluntier. In this Expedition Cyrus was flain, and the Grecian Camp being rifled by the Enemy, they lost all they had except their Arms. These when ' Phalinus, in the King's Name, came to ' Xenoph, demand, and that they should submit themselves Exped.1. 2. to his Mercy, Xenophon was the Man that gave him this imart Answer; We have now, Sir, but two things left us, our Arms and our Valour; if we yield up one, how shall we make use of the other? Think not therefore that we intend to part with our Arms, with which we are resolv'd to manage a Dispute with you. To him Phalinus smilingly reply'd, Young Gentleman, you talk like a Philosopher, and have made a very pretty Speech; but you are mightily mistaken if you think your Arms or Valour can withstand the Power of the great King. Thus meanly did this haughty Courtier think of Xenophon. And yet this was he, who afterwards (when all the Captains and Commanders were basely betray'd and treacherously murther'd) with admirable Skill, and invincible Patience, conducted ten thousand Foot through the midst of the Provinces of Persia, from Babylon to Greece, over precipitous Mountains, deep Rivers, by streight and almost unpassable Ways; to the Amazement of the World, even in despight of the Power and Malice of the Enemy. This unparallel'd Retreat so encourag'd the Grecians, and betray'd the Weakness and Degeneracy of the Persians, that thereupon they began to bethink themselves of invading and subverting that mighty Monarchy; which soon after Jason the Thesalian first design'd; Agesslaws the Spartan successfully attempted; and Alexander the Macedonian victoriously compleated.

Whilst Xenophon was absent in this Asiatick Expedition, he was by a solemn Decree banished Athens, for espousing the Cause of Cyrus their Enemy against Artaxerxes, at that time, this Eriend and Allys the Land Special Country of the Country of the

Friend and Ally; tho, Laertius fays, this Edict of Banishment was denounc'd against him for his favouring the Lacedemonians, and following

agestlaus in his Wars against the Persians. To requite this Unkindness of the Athenians, the Lacedemonians honourably entertain'd him at the Publick Charge, and settled him in a fair Estate

at Scylluns, not far from the City Elis, a most pleasant and delightful Place, and fam'd for the Celebration of the Olympick Games. Tho the Eleans not long after, warring against the Lace-

demonians, disposses d him, pillag'd and plundred him of all he had. He and his Sons escap'd to Lepreum a City of Elis, and from thence to

Corinth, where he was kindly receiv'd, and there peaceably spent the Remainder of his Days.

The Preface.

He was a Man highly qualified with all the Ornaments of an ingenious and gentile Education; honour'd and courted by most of the great Potentates of his Time: his Conversation pleafing and lovely; his Person graceful and handsome, and his Aspect modest beyond Compare, ' is work Wise in Counsels, Politick in his Designs, and Goniv. admirable in his Conduct. A Lover of Hunt-Laert. ing; an Admirer of Horses; and a great Master in the Art of War. He was zealously addicted to the Devotion of that Age, and a strict Observer of all Religious Rites and Exercises: therefore he is very careful to represent Cyrus, not only as a Martial Hero, but a Devout Prince; one that never enters upon any Action without first consulting the Gods, both by Augury and Sacrifice. Thus employ'd did the Messenger find him when he brought the News of the Death of his Son Gryllus, kill'd at the famous Battel of Mantinea betwixt the Thebans and Lacedemonians, after he had bravely behav'd himself, and slain the 3 Theban General Epimanondas with his own hand. 3 pausan. i But so earnest was he in the Service of his Gods, Anic. that hearing he dy'd honourably, with a kind of seeming Satisfaction, he only reply'd, --- I knew he was born to dye-and then proceeded in his Sacrifice.

And as he was the greatest Master of that Age in Military Affairs, so was he very choice and curious in his Accourtements of War, as appears by what * Elian affirms of him; That Argos * Var. he furnish'd him with his Shield, Attica with his 1.3. Breast-plate, Baotia with his Helmet, and Epidaurium with his Horse; Places, all of them, at hat time, remarkable for excelling in those pe-

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culiar things. He himself gives you this Reason why he delighted in rich Armour, Because, saith he, if the Gods bless me with Victory, then I deferve such; but if it be my Fortune to dye in the Field, they are very honourable, and the best Se-

pulchral Ornaments I can have.

How powerful and infinuating his Language was, how convincing and fatisfactory his Reafonings, is abundantly evident from his whole Management of that famous Retreat out of Afia, where, notwithstanding the Murmurings and Discontents of the harass'd and diffressed Souldiers, he gain'd so much upon them, that he still kept them to their Duty? and buoy'd up their finking Spirits amidst the severest Extremities, of a tedious March, a naked Country, and an implacable Enemy. But above all, espe-

cially remarkable is his preserving Byzantium from the Outrages of a mutinous and incensed Army; when by an admirable Oration (as Chio علام عود the Philosopher, an Eye-witness, attests) he ap-Epist. ad Matridem.

peas'd the Tumult, and perswaded the Souldiers into a modest and civil Deportment, when but just now they had peremptorily resolved to pil-

lage and rifle the City.

Now for his Writings, the most of them are, Epist. ad (as 3 Dionysius Halicarnassaus affirms) for their n. Pomsubject matter, Noble and Magnificent, and worthy eium.

the Pen of so great a Man and so great a Philosopher; yet this of the Institution of Cyrus, has in all Ages and Places been look'd upon and admir'd as his Master-piece, wherein he has so admirably digested the most refin'd Policies of the best-govern'd States of his time, and laid down

the great fundamental Maxims of War, that

The Preface.

the wifest of Princes may here inform himself, and the greatest General find matter for his Imitation. This the brave 2 Scipio knew, and from this Treasury it was that he drew out all those cul. 3. Rules and Stratagems of War, which enabled him to subdue alpiring Carthage, and intitled him to the glorious Name of Africanus; For (as Tully observes of this Treatise) He has not herein omitted any one material point concerning the Duty of an Active, Vigilant, and Wife Captain. The same Author does likewise attest, that when that Noble Roman Lucullus was sent against Mithridates King of Pontus, the most subtile, politick and puissant Prince of his time, by a serious and frequent perusal of these Books, he, of a raw and unexperienc'd Commander, became so great and notable a Warriour, that in several Battels, he quite vanquish'd that mighty Monarch, and filled all Asia with the Terrour of

his Arms. They are written indeed (much like Machiavel's Florentine Prince,) 3 non ad Historia fidem, 3 Ciceron. not according to the exactness and veracity of Epist. ad an Historian, sed ad justi Imperii Effigiem, but as Quindt. a Model of a compleat and perfect Government, and are rather a wish, than a History, representing to us, not so much what Cyrus was, as what a truly great and generous Prince ought to be. And to furnish out this Character to the best Advantage he could, he has given you here, as it were an extract of all that Wisdom and Experience he was Master of; having adorn'd this Piece with the choicest Observations, and most instructive Rules that were any where scatter'd through the rest of his Works, that so it might

every

The Preface.

every way correspond to the great end he defign'd it for, which was, (by laying down fuch an exact Plat-form of an Empire) at once to free his Country from the Infolencies of a Popular, and the Inconveniencies of an Aristocratical State; I mean Monarchy; which he has fo admirably contriv'd, and so effectually recommended, that ever fince, that kind of Government has been held most perfect, which has come up nearest to his Model and Design. For whether you consider him in this Book, as a Philosopher, a States-man, or a Souldier, no Man has, at any time, deliver'd more wholfom Precepts for humane Life, wifer Rules for well-governing a People, or deeper Defigns and Stratagems of War; and those too, not adapted only to the Genius of his Age, or peculiarly calculated for the Meridian of Greece; but drawn from the eternal and unchangeable Right of Natures Laws, for that they serve alike to all Men, in all Times, Ages and Places.

And these Excellencies He has disposed into such Order and Method, as at once to instruct and please his Reader; leading him on so insensibly, that the more, and oftner he reads, the greater Appetite he has still to pursue it. * His Words are pure and significant, his Expressions clear, and frequently smart and poinant, his Charatters

and Descriptions very natural; and his set Discourses almost divine; as (not to mention more) that of Love in the fifth Book, of Happiness and the Immortality of the Soul in the eighth. 'Tis

our Xenophon with his Country-man Herodotus, will by no means allow him to be a Master of Rhetoricks

The Preface.

torick, but boldly faies of him, that if at any time he attempts to raise himself up to a pitch of Eloquence, he swells a little, it may be, for the present, but falls again immediately, grows languid and flat; and yet at the same time, he admires the purity of his Language, and his Perspicuity, and commends him for his choice of proper and expressive Words; which not only all Rhetoricians, but even he himself too in another place, consesses to be the chiefest Grace and Vertue of Eloquation. He is not in his Orations, 'tis true, fo florid and luxuriant as some others are, nor cicero de has he that impetus and vehemence of an Oratour, Orator. 1.2. which is almost peculiar to those that attend the Bar; but yet the smoothness of his style, the closeness of his Sense, the soundness of his Judgment, and the Force of his Reasonings make amends sufficiently for that Default. The afore-mention'd critical Author accuses him likewise (but how justly let others judge) of being careless in observing the Dignity and Decorum of Persons, making those that are rude and illiterate, discourse of the deepest points and speculations in Philosophy:

the deepest points and speculations in Philosophy: but this Objection I shall answer by opposing to it the Testimony of one, who was as good a Judge, and as great a Rhetorician as Denys of

Halicarnasse; and that is 'Hermogenes Tarsens, 'By some who expressly affirms, that Xenophon did particularly excell in the natural and proper Representations of Persons, shewing them always in the most to be Ari-

ner of Affectation or Disguise.
In many things he stood in Competition with Plato himself, and in a neat and familiar Phrase s confess d to have excelled him. Tully sayes his

plain, and yet pleasing simplicity, without any man- sides Advi-

Language

4 Tom. 2.

* Hermog.

de form.

diel . Xe-

hoph.

pag. 130.

The Preface.

Language is so soft and sweet, that the Muses themselves seem to speak out of his Mouth. And Forat. just. Quintilian affirms, his Stile has in it such a nah 10.0, 1. tural pleasantness that no Affectation can equal; as if the Graces themselves had fram'd it. Hence the Title of Musa, or Apes, Attica was appropriare to him, as (befides other Testimonies) is intimated in an Epigram of Chrestodorus a Thebane Poet, with which, as relating particularly to the following Treatife, I shall conclude this Discourse.

Eis Zevopavra.

Zewoodaw is egine pepgiomo G- 'Asis 'Asins "Ος πείν Αχαιρωίδαο μέν Ο Κύροιο λιζοίνων Είπεζο φονήειζι Πλαπωνιδ Ο ήθει Μέσης, Isoeins φιλάεθλον αειςώδιν Φόπώς lw Συγπερέσας ραθάμιξι φιλαζεύπνοιο Μελίωπς.

In English thus.

Brave Xenophon, by Noble Athens own'd, (Athens in Arms, as well as Arts, renown'd) Did once proclaim great Persias greater Lord, And in Platonick Strains his ASts record, Where Rules of War, and Policies of States He did with fost, fireet Lines attemperate.

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ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ:

OR, THE

Institution and LIFE

CYRUS the GREAT.

BOOK I.

The Preface.

Have often considered how many Popular States have been diffolv'd by those that would 'live under any Government rather ' HOAGthan a Democracy; and again, how many wings.
Monarchies and Republicks have been subverted by the Populacy. As also, of those that have affected the Supreme Power, how some have, on a sudden, been utterly destroy'd, whilst others, though they have exercis'd an absolute Dominion for a long time, have yet been admired as Men wise in their Administration, and happy in their Conduct. It was also, methoughts, observable in most private Families, where the Masters have fome of them numerous Attendants, and others VC-

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govern Men.

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Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I.

very few; yet can they never bring even those few to be entirely obedient to their Commands. Besides this, I considered that Herdsmen govern their Herds, and Feeders their Horses; and all those we call Keepers may properly be supposed to exercise a kind of Command over those Cattel they have under their Charge. And withall I observed. That all those Creatures are more ready to obey their Keepers than Men their Governours: for, their Flocks go what way they direct them, they feed in those Pastures they permit them, and refrain from those from whence they drive them, and are content that their Feeders should, at their own Pleasure, enjoy the fruits or profits they afford: nor did we ever yet hear of any Flock that conspired against their Keepers, either so as to disclaim their own Subjection to them, or to deny them the use of the Fruits of their Increase; nay, they are more curst and untractable to all others than to those that have a Command over them, and have been advantaged by them; but Men set themselves to oppose none so much as those they conceive attempting to exercise a Dominion over them. Now when I had feriously debated these things with my felf, I came, in the end, to this Conclusion. That for Man to make himself Sovereign over all other Creatures, is more natural and easie than to

But, when I came to confider that there was a Cyrus of Persa, who held in Obedience many Men, Cities, and Nations, I was presently forced to shift my Thoughts, and take up with this Opinion, That to govern Men, provided it were done

done with Wisdom and Skill, was a thing reither utterly impossible nor very difficult. For, we know Men paid a voluntary Allegiance unto Cyrus; fome that were distant from him many days, others many months Journey, some that never faw him in their Lives, and others that were fure they never should, were notwithstanding desirous and willing to obey him: for indeed, he so far excelled other Kings, were their Dominions either Hereditary or Acquired, that when the Scythian Emperour, though his People are innumerable, can't make himself Master of any other Nation, but could be content to be Sovereign of his own; the Thracian, if he could rule Thrace; the Illyrian, if he could command Illyricum; and the same we hear reported of other Countries, (for there are States, 'tis faid, even at this day in Europe, free and independent) yet Cyrus, when he found some Estates in Asia obliged by no Laws but their own, coming upon them with an inconfiderable Army of Persians, he brought the Medes and Hyrcanians into a Voluntary Subjection: He totally subdued Syria, Affyria, 'Arabia, Cappadocia, both the Phrygia's, Lydia, Caria, Phænicia, and Babylon. He com-, A People

manded the Baltrians, Indians, and Cilicians, as of Scythia also the Sacans, Paphlagonians, and Mega-Asiatica. dines, with innumerable other Nations, whose Ptol. 1. 6. Names are not to be reckoned. He held in Obe- 2 Philelphis

dience the Greeks in Asia, and setting to Sea, he vetus literp. inastered the Cyprians and Egyptians. Thus had legit Maeshe alone the Sovereignty over all these Nations; and unoi,

Nations as much Strangers to his Language as People of they were to each others: and notwithstanding the siner B 2

he Afia. Ort.

Xenophon's Institution and Book I.

he could awe so great a part of the World with the dread of his Name, as that all men were struck with Astonishment, and none durst lift up an hand against him; yet could he withall raise in them such an affectionate desire of doing what should be grateful to him, that they were always ready to make his Will the measure of their Obedience. He made so many Nations his Dependents and Subjects, that what way foever one should set out from his Royal Palace, whether East, West, North, or South, to enumerate them all would be difficult. Concerning this great Man, so worthy our Admiration, I have made diligent search how he was descended, what his natural Inclination, and what his Education, whereby he became so excellent above

Cyrus's Parentage

declare.

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(a70.

Cyrus's Father (as is commonly reported) was Cambyses, King of Persia; (now this Cambyses was a Descendent of the Race of the Persida, so called in honour of Perseus) and 'tis confessed on all hands, that his Mother was Mandana, Daughter of Altyages King of the Medes.

all others in Princely Government: so that

whatfoever, either upon Enquiry I have learn'd.

or otherwise know of him, I shall endeavour to

Now 'tis said of Cyrus, and he is renowned as fuch, even at this day among the Barbarians, that he was a man by Nature most graceful and affable, a great Admirer of Learning, and Lover of Honour; in pursuit of which, he would undergo any Hardship, and encounter any Danger.

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I.

And being, as is recorded of him, naturally qualified with such Ornaments both of Body and Mind, he was instructed in the Laws of the Per- and Edustans, which seem chiefly to take care of, and cation. defign, the Advancement of the common Good. Nor do they begin there, or primarily intend The Persithat which the Laws of most other Cities do; for, an Laws. They for the most part leave all Persons at their Liberty, to educate their Children as they please, and indulge the Elder fort the same freedom of living as they will: they enjoyn them, indeed, not to commit Theft or Rapine; not to plunder their Neighbours; to strike no Man wrongfully; not to commit Adultery; not to be disobedient to the Magistrate, &c. So that whosoever shall transgress against any of these Ordinances, the Law has provided a Penalty for him. But to prevent this, the Laws of the Persians make Provision betimes that no free-born Citizen there, may, even from the beginning, have so much as an Inclination to act any thing that is base or dishonourable. The method they take is this:

They have a Place called the Free Court, 1'Endogwhere are erected the Palace Royal and other eg. apogd. Princely Edifices, from whence Merchandise and Traders, and the Clamours and Infolence of those kind of People are referred to another Place, lest their tumultuary Proceedings should disturb the decent Order, and corrupt the good Manners of those that came there to be instructed. This publick Place or Court aforesaid is divided into four parts; one whereof is for the Children, another for the Young Men, a third for those that are fully arrived at Man's Estate, and a sourth tor

And

Book I.

nest Men.

Book I. for such, as by reason of their Age, are discharged from all Military Duty. Now, according to the Prescript of the Law, every one of these attends in his proper Place and Season. The Youth, and those that are at Man's Estate, early in the Morning, by Break of Day: but the Elderly Men, belide certain fet Days to which they are bound, appear only there as every one's Occasions permit them. The Young Men being provided of light Armour, lodge about the Palace, except those that are married, whose Attendance is never required unless they are summoned; nor yet is it for their Credit to be often absent. Over cach of these Divisions are twelve Presidents, because the Persians are divided into so many Tribes. Such of the Old Men are chosen to prefide over the Children, as are supposed fittest to render them compleatly good and vertuous men. Over the Young Men, such of those at Man's Estate as are thought likelieft to make them the most gallant Persons. And over those at Man's Estate, fuch especially as may make them obedient to the Supreme Magistrate in what he commands. and ready to perform what he enjoyns. Nor are the Old Men without their Prefetts, who are chofen purpolely to inspect them, that they also may be faithful in the discharge of their Duties. Ishall likewise particularly declare what by the Law is incumbent upon every Age to perform; that for it may the more evidently appear how follicitous and careful they are that the Subjects of their State may approve themselves right ho-

Xenophon's Institution and

Now, the Children that come to these 'Schools' Or Courts. employ their time in learning Principles of Jufice, and for this purpole are faid to attend as The Chilconstantly here, as with us they do that go to drens Exlearn Letters. Then for their Governours, they ercife. spend most part of the day in giving Judgment among them; for, even they, as well as men, have mutual Indistments and Accusations one against another, of Theft, Rapine, Violence, Fraud, Slander, and the like; and they certainly punish whomsoever they find guilty of any such crime; those also that, without any just Cause, are found to bring false Accusations against their Fellows. They condemn all those litigious Wranglings which create mutual Animosities and Hatred among men; especially they give Judgment against Ingratitude: so that when they know any one that has both Ability and Opportunity to be grateful, and is not, him they punish very feverely; for that they believe, ungrateful men, above all others, to have no Regard of the Gods, their Parents, Country, or Friends. Besides, they look upon Ingratitude to be constantly attended with Impudence, and that is the great Incentive to all manner of Lewdness and Debauchery. Moreover, they instruct the Children in the Rules of Sobriety; to the acquiring of which, 'tis very conducible, that they have before their Eyes Examples of Old Men, that spend their days in Moderation and Temperance. They are taught also to yield Obedience to the Magistrate; to which they are mightily encouraged, by seeing the Elders so cheerfully obey the Higher Powers. They learn here likewise to be sparing

and moderate in their Diet, and to make them so, it contributes very much, first that they never see the Old Men depart to take any Refreshment before they are dismiss'd by their Superiours; and then, that they themselves receive their Sustenance, not from their Mothers, but from their Masters hands; and that too upon notice first given by the President. They bring with them from home for their ordinary Food, As Sauov. Bread; and for their other meats ' Cresses: for

their Drink, if any one thirst, they have an earthen Pot to draw up Water out of the River. They learn here also the use of the Bow, to shoot and to dart; and this is their Duty: this they practise till they come to the Age of Sixteen or Seventeen; from which time they are reckoned among the Ephebi or Young Men. Now they lead their Lives after this manner:

The Youth how employ'd.

For ten years after the time of their Childhood is expired, they lodge about the Palace, partly for the Safeguard of the City, and partly to make them vigilant and temperate; because at this Age especially, they seem most to stand in need of a strift Discipline and Governance. In the day time they wait chiefly upon the Magistrates, to be employed, if any Concern for the Publick call for their Service: and, when occasion requires, they all give their Attendance about the Palace Royal. Whenfoever the King goes forth to bunt (and that he does often every month) he leads out with him half his Guards: now all that attend upon him must have a Bow and Arrows, Magazir. with a Quiver; a short Dagger or 2 Cymitar in a Scabbard, besides a light Target and two Javelins, the one to dart at a distance, and the other (if need be) to use at hand. They are careful to keep up this kind of publick Hunting, where the King in Person, as in the Wars, is their Leader (who both hunts himself, and takes care that others do fo too) upon this account; because they look upon it to be the best Preparatory for, and truest Resemblance of Military Discipline: for, it brings them to a Custom of rising early in the Morning, it inures them to undergo Heat and Cold, and exercises them with travelling on Foot and Running. Besides, they are obliged to shoot at, and dart the Wild Beast wherefoever they meet him; and many times it can't chuse but quicken and raise their Courage when they encounter some fierce and noble Prey. for they must strike those that make at them, and avoid those that eagerly assault them: so that it is hard to find any one Action in War that is not represented or matched in Hunting. Those that go forth to hunt, have (as is but fitting) a larger Proportion allowed for their Dinner than the Children; but in other Respects they fare alike. Whilft they have Game they must not dine; but if they are forced to tarry long for their Game, or are otherwise willing to continue their Chase, then they eat their Dinner for Supper, and the next Day hunt till Supper-time again, accounting those two days but for onc, because they spend only the Portion allotted for one: now this course they take, so to accustom themselves, that in War, if need require, they may be able to do the same. These Young Men, if they take any thing in Hunting, that they have E & Lov.

Xenophon's Institution and Book I. for their 'Repast'; if nothing, their Cresses. But now, if any man imagine they fare hard because they have nothing to eat with their Bread but Cresses, and only Water to drink; let him but consider how savory is a plain Cake, or piece of Bread to one that is hungry, and how delicious Water is to him that is thirsty.

As for the rest of the Guards that remain at home, besides that they diligently practise themselves in other things which they learn'd whilst yet Children, they exercise themselves in shooting and darting, in which they are continually striving to excell one another. They have also their publick Games and Contests, and Rewards appointed for the Victors: and look what Tribe abounds with the most understanding, valiant, and obedient Subjects, not only their Governour for the time being, but he also that instructed in their Childhood, is highly magnified, and honoured by the People. These Young Men likewise that stay behind in the City, if there be any occasion either for a Guard, or to search after Malefattors, or to apprehend Robbers, or any thing else that requires Strength and Dispatch, are always employ'd by the Civil Magistrate. These are the Exercises of the Youth, who after they have thus employ'd these ten Years, are taken into the Number of Compleat Men; and then, for twenty five Years following, the Course of Life they lead is this:

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The Mens Exercise.

At first, as the Young Men do, they attend the chief Magistrates, ready to be put upon Duty whensoever the Exigency of Publick Affairs calls for Men of approved Wisdom and Courage.

And

And if upon occasion they are summon'd to go out to Battel, they that are under this Discipline, go not out, as before, arm'd with Bows and Lances, but with 'Weapons fit to grapple with at 'Ayx'e-hand; such are a Breast-plate about their Breasts, \(\mu_a \times_a \times_{\sigma} \times_a \t

These Elders henceforward go no more out The Duty of their own Country to the Wars, but remain- of the ing now at home, are to determine all Controversies that shall arise, both Publick and Private, to give Judgment in matters of Life and Death; to whom also belongs the Election of Magistrates: and if any of the Young Men, or those of maturer years, neglect to discharge their Duty as by Law injoyned; against all such Persons, either the Presidents of their respective Tribes, or any else that will, bring their Presentments: where, upon hearing the whole matter, the Elders discard them; and he that is thus thrown off, leads the residue of his Life in Infamy and Disgrace. But now, that the whole Persian Polity and Government may appear more plain and easie, I shall recollect a little what I have delivered; which I shall be able to comprise very briefly in regard of what has been already spoken.

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A Summary of the foregoing Discourse.

The Persians then are reported to be in number about a hundred and twenty thousand; and none of all these are by Law debarred from honourable Employments and Offices of State: for, all Persians in general are at liberty to send their Children to these publick seminaries of Justice; although they only are sent thither whose Parents are of Ability otherwise to breed them up at their ease; and they that can't do that never send them. Now, they that in their Childhood have undergone the Discipline of these Publick Teachers, may improve themselves afterwards among the young Men, which Priviledge the Law denies to those that have not. Likewise, such of the routh as have gone on constantly to perform what the Law requires, may proceed yet higher in the Society of those of riper years, and have equal share with them in Honours and Preferments. But they that have never gone through this Institution in either Capacity, either as young Men or Children, are by no means admitted into Fellowship with them that are arrived at the perfect State of Manhood. They also that among the full aged Men have in all Respects acquitted themselves unblameably, are thereupon received into the number of the Elders: so that such only are constituted Elders that have gone through all manner of honest and laudable Employments. This is their Polity, this their Constitution, which they that live up to, are esteem'd the best of Men. There are yet amongst the Persians some Remains of the Moderation they observe in receiving their Food, and their Labour in digesting it: and even at this day 'ris reputed among them a thing

Book I. Life of Cyrus the Great.

a thing not only shameful to be spitting in Publick and blowing the Nose, or to appear pussed up and swoln, but scandalous also so much as to make Water, or to perform any such like Offices of Nature so as to be seen of Men; which could never be practicable did they not use a strict Temperance in their Diet, and by a constant Industry so work out their gross and suggish Humours that they should waste themselves some other way. This is what I have thought fit to say of the Persians in general. Now I shall proceed more particularly to declare the Noble Acts of Cyrus, beginning even from his Childhood: in prosecution of which Design I sirst entred upon this Discourse.

Cyrus then, till he was twelve Years old and cyrus's fomewhat upwards, was trained up and educa-Childhood ted in this fort of Discipline; and had manifestly the Preheminence of all his Fellows, both in quickness to apprehend what he was taught, and also in acting every thing with a graceful and Man-like Meen. About this time King Astyages fent for his Daughter Mandana, and Cyrus her Son, whom he earnestly desired to see because he was fam'd for a very lovely and vertuous Youth. She immediately obeys her Father's Commands, and brings with her, her young Son; who was no fooner arrived and knew Altyages to be his Grand-father, but presently (as a Child whose Nature prompted him to Duty and Affection) he falutes him like an Acquaintance of a long standing, and embraces him as if he had been a familiar Friend: and seeing him, as the Fashiou

Book I.

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his head adorned with borrowed Hair; (for all these Devices they use, besides their purple Robes; their rich 'Vestments, their Chains about their Juss. Necks, and Bracelets on their Arms; whereas

the Persians, such especially as remain at home, are even at this day in their Apparel very plain and ordinary, and frugal in their Diet.) Cyrus, I fay, seeing Asiyages in all this Gayety, O Mother, fays he, fixing his Eyes upon him, what a comely Grandfather have I! And when she

Xenophon's Institution and Book I.

Fashion of the Medes is, with his Eyes painted,

his Face beautified with counterfeit Colours, and

asked him whether he thought was the more fightly Person, his own Father, or Hers? Verily Mother, replied he, my Father greatly excells all the Persians; but of all the Medes I have yet feen, either in my Journey, or fince my Arrival,

this my Grandfather is exceedingly the most goodly and graceful Man. Then Astyages, in return, embracing him, arrayed him in a costly

Robe, and put upon him the honourable Ornaments of Chains and Bracelets: and whenever he went abroad he took him with him, having mounted him on an Horse with gold Trappings, as

he himself was used to ride. And Cyrus, as he was a Child of a great deal of Gallantry and Honour, was very much taken with his Robe of

State, and highly pleased with the Exercise of Horsemanskip: for Persia being a mountainous and craggy Country, 'tis very difficult to breed

Horses there, and dangerous to ride them; so that among them 'tis a rare thing so much as to

see one.

Now when Astyages was fat at Supper with his Daughter and Kinsman, being desirous that the *Child's* Entertainment should be as grateful and pleasing as might be, the more to take him off from longing homeward; he caused divers forts of Dilkes, serv'd up with variety of the most exquisite Sauces and Dainties to be set before him. Enlauna-Whereupon, Cyrus, as is reported, brake out la.

Why, fays Astyages, don't you esteem this a

much better Entertainment than you have in Persia? By no means, my Lord, replied Cyrus;

for we have a much more natural and casie way

to satisfie our Appetite than you: only Bread

into these Words; O my Lord, says he, What His Disa trouble do you create your self in this Supper, courses at if you must reach out your hand to every one of Supper. these Dishes, and taste of all these fundry meats?

and a little Flesh suffices us, whereas you Medes, though you aim at the same thing, yet going about this way and that way, with many windings and turnings, you scarce at last procure that, which we, long fince, with so much ease attained. But to us, my Child, quoth Astyages, this wheeling about and wandring is not at all tedious; and you also, do but only taste, will

confess these Dainties to be most delightful and

favory. Yea, but methinks quoth Cyrus, you

your felf, my Lord, seem even to disdain these Delicacies. Then Astyages asking him, why thinkest thou so, Sweet-heart? because, says he, after your taking Bread I never observe that you

wipe your Hands; but no fooner do you touch any of these dainty Dishes but immediately you

make clean your Fingers with your Napkin, as Now

Xenophon's Institution and Book I.

if you were really concerned and offended that you had medled with them at all. To which Astyages, If that be thy Conceit, My Dear; come however eat liberally of the Flesh-meats that thou may'st return home a lusty Young Man: and presently ordered divers sorts of Flesh, both tame and wild, to be set before him. Which Cyrus perceiving, Does your Majesty, fays he, bestow upon me all this Variety to dispose of as I please? Yea verily, replied Astrages. all this I freely give thee. Then Cyrus taking the several Dishes, bestowed them all amongst his Grandfather's domestick Servants, using to every one these or the like Expressions; This I bestow on thee for thy Diligence and Willingness to teach me to ride: and on thee this (which is what at present I have) for the Javelin thou gavest me: take thou this Donative for the good and faithful Service thou dost my Grandfather: and thou this because thou dost reverence and honour my Mother. And at this rate he continued till he had distributed amongst them all the Flesh-meats that were set before him. Whereupon Astyages thus bespake him; But why gavest thou nothing to Sacas my Cup-Bearer, who is greatly my Favourite? Now this Sacas was a very graceful Person, and had an honourable Employ to introduce such as had business with Astyages, and to deny those admittance whole Visits he thought unseasonable. To which, Cyrus, as he was a Child not easily abashed, very finartly made this Reply: And why, good Sir, have you such a value and esteem for this Fel-

low? Why, fays Astyages, see'st thou not how

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neatly he performs, and handfomly becomes his Office; for these Kings Cup-bearers serve up their Wine with a singular Grace, and have a delicate hand at filling it out. They present their Cup bearing it so betwixt three Fingers, that they may the most easily and commodiously deliver it to him that is to drink of it.

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To whom Cyrus; Let your highness then command Sacas to give me likewise a Cup, that I also filling out dexteriously to you, may, if posfible, obtain your gracious favour and Affection. Which, when according to Altyages's commands, he had received, immediately he cleanfed it, and wash'd it very carefully, as he had observed Sacas to do: and then putting on a fettled and composed countenance, he presented it with such a pretty gentile behaviour that made both Asyages and his Mother break forth into a great Laughter. And he himself laughing our for Company, ran presently to his Grandfather, and imbracing him, cryed out: Now Sacas thou art utterly ruin'd: I shall thrust thee out of thy Honour and imployment. For I shall not only in other respects discharge this Office as well as thy felf; but also forbear to drink up the Wine. For they that are Cup-bearers to these Kings, when they present a Bowlof Wine, first pour out some of it into a Taster in their left hand, and drink it off, to the end that if they have poyfoned the Wine they may be fure not to escape unpunished. Then said Astyages sportingly; But why Cyrus, seeing you imitate Sacas in other things, did you not also drink off the Wine? Because, said he, I was heartily asraid lest Poyson might have been infused into the Vessel. For

For when upon celebration of your Birth-day you entertained your Friends, I was then fully convinc'd that this Fellow gave you Poyfon to drink. But how, my child, quoth Allyages, didft thou discover this Because, replyed he, I saw you strangely disordered both in Body and Mind. For in the fifst place, what you strictly injoyn us Children not to do, that you your felves acted. All of you let up such a confused Clamour that you could not understand one another. You fung most absurdly and ridiculously. And would iwear fuch a one fung most incomparably when you never heard him fing at all; every one was inagnifying his own frength and attivity; and when you rose up to dance, you were so far from observing your Measures or Time, that ve were hardly able to fland upright. All of ye totally loft your Senfes; you forgetting that you were a King, and they that they were your Subjects. Then did I first learn that this was the time "longoela when every one talk'd what and as much as he pleased; for your Tongues were in perpetual motion. Whereupon Astyages returned, Pray tell me, my Son, is thy Father never diffempered with Wine? No, I affure you, faid he, never-But how, queth he, does he do to avoid it? He drinks only, answer'd Cyrus, to quench his thirst, and receives no other Prejudice by it; for, believe me Sir, he has no Sacas to be his Cup-bearer. Hercupon his Mother spake unto him; And why, Child, are you so violently Sacas's Enemy? Because, said he, I protest I hate him perfeetly: for, many times, when I am very defirous to vifit my Grandfather, this pestilent Fel-

low denies me Admittance; therefore I humbly beg that I may have him entirely at my Command but for three days. And how, faid Astyages, would'st thou exercise thy Authority over him? I would, replied he, take up my Station in the very Passage where he used to stand; and when he had a mind to come in to his Dinner, by no means, I would cry out, here is no Entrance for you yet; my Grandfather is taken up with business: When he would come in to Supper, I would say, he is now in the Bath: When he was exceeding hungry and fain would eat, I would tell him he was then accosting the Ladies; till with fuch Excuses I have deluded and put him off as he uses to serve me when he denies me access to your Person. Such Merriment and Pastime did Cyrus his Discourse create them at Supper. And at other times very difficult was it for any one to be before-hand with him in obferving and executing whatfoever his Grandfather or " Uncle commanded: so over-joyed was I Cyaxares. he if with his utmost Service he could do any thing that was grateful and acceptable to them. Now when Mandana was preparing for her

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Return into Persia, Astyages besought her that she would leave behind her Cyrus her Son. To cyrus wilwhich she answered, That she was ready in all sing to tarthings to comply with her Fathers Requests; but ry in Methought was very hard. Then spake Astyages to Cyrus; My Son, if you will tarry here, in the first place, it shall not be in Sacas's power to deny you Access to my Person, but whensoever you please you shall have free Admittance; and

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the more frequent your Visits are the more acceptable will they be. My Horses, and whatever else you please, shall be wholly at your Service: and whenfoever you depart, you shall

command with you which of them you like best. For your Diet you shall be left at your liberty to

take fuch course as to you shall seem most consistent with Moderation and Sobriety. The wild Beafts

at present in my Park, and what others of all

forts I can procure, shall be entirely yours; which, as foon as you are grown an expert

Horseman, you shall chase, and with Darts and

Arrows so baffle and over-throw them, as strong and well-grown men are used to do. I will provide also young Gentlemen to be your Sport-

Companions: and briefly, whatever else you defire, only let me know your Mind, and you

shall not fail to be gratified in your Request.

When Astyages had thus made an end of speaking, Cyrus's Mother demanded of him, whether he would depart or stay; and he, without any

hesitation, readily replied, He would choose to stay. Then his Mother further demanding of

him the Reason of his choice, he gave this, Because, said he, at home I have the Repute, and that deservedly, of the most compleat Artist at

Shooting and Darting of any of my Companions: but here, as to Riding, I am very sensible, how much inferiour I am to the rest of my Associates;

which, when I reflect upon, I affure you, I am exceedingly diffatisfied. Now if I flay here and learn to be a good Horse-man, I believe, when

I come into Persia, I shall easily surpass the best Foot-men there; and whenever I return again in-

to Media, having got the Name, even among skillful Riders, of a perfect Matter in Horsemanthip, I will endeavour to aid and affift my Grandfather in his Wars. But how, my Child, answered his Mother, will you learn Justice here, seeing your Teachers are in Persia that should instruct you therein. To which Cyrus replied, I perfectly understand it already. How know'st thou that, quoth Mandana? Because, said he, my Master made me a Judge over others, as one already exact in the Administration of Ju-Stice. And once in the Decision of a Controverfie I was punished for not giving Judgment aright.

The Case was this:

another little Boy that had a large Coat, put-ment of ting his own upon the little one and the little "ting his own upon the little one and the little " ones Coat upon himself. Now I sitting as Judge in this Case, resolved, That for either of them to have the Coat that fitted him was fairest and best for both *Parties*. For this Sentence my Master punished me, telling me withall, that fhould I be appointed to judge in matter of Conveniency, then I ought to proceed thus: but where you are to determine whose Garment it is, here, faid he, you are to confider who has the Propriety and Right of Possession; whether he in Justice ought to enjoy it that by Violence has taken it away, or he that has made it, or bought it with his Money. For faid he, adding further, what is just that is also lawful; and what is contrary to Law is Violence: fo that in every definitive

Sentence, the Judge ought especially to regard

what the Law directs. And thus, Mother, faid

"A great Boy that had a scanty Coat strip'd The Judg-

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Answer.

he, I am pretty well versed in all things that concern the Distribution of Justice; wherein, if in any point I am defective, my Grandfather here will instruct me. But, my Son, said she, your Grandfather does not allow that to be Ju-Stice here, which passes for Law among the Perfians. For he, among the Medes, has made himfelf Lord and Proprietary of all they have; but among the Persians, to observe an Equality is look'd upon to be just. And your Father, as he is the Principal in making Statutes and Ordinances for the State, so he himself is the first that receives and observes them; making that his Rule to walk by, not what his own arbitrary Pleasure suggests, but what the Law prescribes.

How then will you escape being chastised almost to Death, if, when you return home, instead of Kingly Government you have imbibed from him the Principles of Tyranny, the very Nature whereof is to hold it necessary that One should have more than the whole Community be-His witty sides. Yea, but my Grandfather, said Cyrus, is so powerful and persuasive as to teach People rather to be content with a little than to covet much: for, don't you observe how he has taught all the Medes to rest satisfied with less than himself? Therefore be of good cheer, Mother, faid he, and assure your self, that my Grandfather will to instruct me also, as well as his own Subjects, that when be difmisses me I shall by no means covet to possess more than others.

> These, and many things of the like Nature, did Grus utter; when in Conclusion, his Mother Mandana departing, he tarried behind, and

was there brought up in Astyages's Court: where he quickly grew into such an Acquaintance with his Associates, that he became their most familiar and intimate Friend; and in a short time, what by his Deportment and Civility toward them, and what by those evident Expressions of Love he shewed to their Children, he gained so much upon the Affections of their Fathers, that if they had any Suit to the King, they laid their Commands upon their Children, that they should intreat Cyrus to solliene their Business for them: and he (fuch was his obliging and generous Temper) whatfoever his Companions defired of him, made it especially his own Business to get theirs dispatch'd. Now Astyages had it not in his Power to deny Cyrus any thing wherein he might comply with and gratific his Requests: for, once when he was in a fit of Sickness, he never gave over his attendance on him, nor forbore to fled Tears for him; so that every one plainly perceiv'd how mightily concern'd and fearful he was left his Grandfather should dye. If in the Night-time he call'd for any thing he wanted, Cyrus was the first that perceived it; and being more watchful and fedulous than the rest, he immediately rose up, and administred such things as he thought proper for, and acceptable to him: by which means, he fo won the heart of Astyages, that he cou'd com-

Life of Cyrus the Great.

Cyrus perhaps was a little too full of Talk and liberal of his Tongue: which was partly the Effect of his Education, he being obliged by his Teachers to render a Reason for every thing he

mand of him what he pleas'd.

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I.

did, and to exact the same from others when he fate in Judgment amongst them; and partly because, he desiring to improve in Knowledge, was both himself always very inquisitive with those about him, how the Affairs of the World went; and also, whatsoever Questions others put to him, so brisk and active was his Wit, he ever had an Answer ready for them; all which Circumstances caus'd him to abound with words. and made him naturally very talkative. But as in those that are very young, though they are already grown up to a confiderable Stature, yet still there appears in them something juvenile and childish, that discovers and betrays their tender years; so Cyrus's superfluity of Discourse was not an Argument of too much Confidence and Boldness in him, but only of Innocence and good Nature; infomuch, that to hear him still go on freely in his Talk, was, to those about him, more grateful than his Silence. But in process of time, as he grew up, and added to his Statute more maturity of Years, he began to be more sparing of his Words, and more calm and sedate in his Expression; and withall became fo modest and bashful, that he wou'd even blush when he met with any elderly Person: he also To oxuna- quite left off that over-forward and familiar kind of way of intruding himself into all Companies without Consideration or Distinction; whereby he became indeed more quiet and referv'd, but nothing the less acceptable at their Meetings and pla-

ces of Resort: for, of all their Games and Disputes, wherein Young Men usually make tryal of, and

prove their Equals, he never challenged his

Compa-

Companions in any wherein he believed himself Superiour: but where he certainly knew himself overmatch'd, there he would be fure to give the first Onset, and declare he would perform the Exercise better than they. He began also now to leap up, and mount readily on Horse-back, and from thence to practife shooting and darting, when he was yet but a very unexperienc'd Rider; and if at any time he were out-done and worsted, he would especially be jocose and pleasant upon himself. He never shrunk back or desisted upon a Defeat, but would still be making fresh Essays and Attempts, that he might grow more and more expert in the performance of those Exercises wherein he had been overcome and mastered; so that in a short time he not only equal'd his Fellows in the business of Horsemanship, but such was the pleasure he took in it, he quickly excelled and surpass'd them. Nor was it long before he had, what with chasing and shooting, so wasted and destroyed the wild Beasts in the Park, that Astyages was at a loss to procure Game for him. Now when Cyrus perceived that Astyages, though he were very desirous, was not able to supply him, What need you, faid he, be thus follicitous and thoughtful for my Entertainment? Only send me forth to hunt with my ' Uncle, and every wild Beaft I' Cyazare, meet with I will fancy you have kept up for my his Mothers Exercise and Diversion: and though he longed Brother. extreamly to be abroad at his Game, yet cou'd he now no longer request any thing so earnestly as when he was a Child, but was rather tardy and backward in his Visits to his Grandfather: and

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and whereas before he had a Pique against Sacas for refusing to introduce him, he was now become a Sacas to controul himself; for, he never went in to him now unless he were beforehand assured that it was a proper time; and he intreated Sacas that he would always significe to him when his Visit would be seasonable, and when not; so that Sacas now, as well as all others, exceedingly loved and admir'd him.

Cyrus a Lover of Hunting.

When Astyages came to understand how very carnest he was to go a hunting abroad, he fent him forth with his Uncle, and with them a Guard of Flderly Men on Horse-back, to keep him out of hazardous and dangerous places, and secure him from the more savage fort of wild Beafts, if any such chanced to approach them. Cyrus therefore was very inquisitive with those that attended him, which fort of Beafts he might not come near, and which he might boldly pursue: They told him, that Bears, Lyons, Boars, and Leopards, had torn in pieces many that had adventur'd to approach too near them; but that Stags, Goats, wild Sheep, and Affes, were nothing so mischievous and hurtful; and withall warn'd him, that he must have equal regard to avoid perillous Places as to flun the fellest Beasts; for that many Men had already, Horse and all, fall'n headlong down from Rocks and Precipices.

To all these Cautions Cyrns was very attentive; yet no sooner had he espiced a Hind skipping before him, but, regardless of whatever he had heard, he was instantly in close pursuit of her, minding nothing more but which way she fled;

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informuch, that his Horse, by a kind of a Leap, fell upon his Knees, and Cyrus was in danger to be thrown over his Neck; however, with much ado he made a shift to sit him, and the Horse recovered his Legs. As foon as he came into the Plain he hurl'd his Dart at the Hind and overthrew her, a goodly Beast, and a large one; whereat he did not a little rejoyce. But his Guard that attended him, riding up to him, check'd him forely, shewing him to what danger he had exposed himself, and telling him withall, they would complain of him to his Grandfather. Cyrus hearing them fay fo, alighted off his Horse, and stood still somewhat troubled in mind and diffurb'd, when immediately hearing a great shout, like one in a sudden Transport, he re-mounted; and seeing a wild Boar making furiously at him, he rode up against him, and threw his Javelin with fuch dexterity, that he hit him on the Fore-head, brought him down, and master'd him. Hercupon his Uncle also seeing his adventurous Rashness, reprov'd him; who notwithstanding his Rebukes, requested him that what he had taken in hunting he wou'd give him leave to carry home and prefent it to his Grandfather. To whom his Uncle reply'd. If he should know that you had chased these Beasts, he would not only check you, but reprehend me also for permitting you. Let him, faid he, even scourge me if he please, provided I may only make him this Present: and you, Uncle, if it be your Will, only gratifie me in this, and inflict on me what Punishment you think fit. In Conclusion Cyaxares told him, You

Book I. Life of Cyrus the Great.

You may use your own Pleasure, and do as you list, for you are become already as it were a King over us. So Cyrus brought the Prizes he had taken, and presenting them to his Grandfather, told him, he had hunted those for his sake: as for his Darts he shew'd them not, but laid them, all bloody as they were, in such a Place where he thought his Grandfather must needs see them.

Then said Astyages to him, I accept gladly, my Son, whatsoever you offer me; but yet I stand in no such need of any of these, as to purchase them with the hazard of your Person. My Lord, saith Cyrus, if you need them not, bestow them upon me, that I may distribute among my Companions. Astyages replied, Take, my Son, not only these, but if there be any thing else you desire, dispose of what, and to whom you please. So Cyrus took them, and bestowing them among the Young Men his Companions, spoke to them to this effect.

How did we, my Sport-mates, trifle and befool our selves when we chased the Deer in the Park! to me it seems much the same as if a man shou'd go to hunt in a Prison, and have his Game in Fetters: for first they were confin'd to a very narrow Compass, then they were some of them little, lean, and shabby, others lame, maim'd, and dismember'd; whereas the Wild Beasts in the Mountains and open Fields, how comely, how large, and in what good plight they appear'd. The Stags and Harts, swift as winged Fowl, mounted up into the Air; the Wild Boars made up at us, and assaulted us, as stout and valorous Men

Men use to do, and were of so large a size that a Man could not possibly miss them. In short, these Beasts seem in my eye, though dead, more fair and goodly than those others, though alive, that are thut up close and impaled. But what think you, quoth he, Will your Fathers give you leave to hunt? Yes, very readily, reply'd they, if Astyages but command it. But who, faid Cyrus, shall move Astyages on your behalf? Who, return'd they, is more proper for it, and more likely to prevail than your felf? As for me, fays he, I protest, I know not how, I am become fuch a strange kind of Man, that I am no longer able to speak to my Grandfather as I ought, nor look him in the face as becomes me; infomuch, that I am afraid if I go on at this rate, I shall in the end prove altogether blockish and stupid; and yet when I was little, methought I was very forward to speak, and had Tongue enough. Then the Youths reply'd, This is but bad News for us, if when we stand in need of your Assistance you can do nothing for us, but we must be forced to desire that of another which is most proper for you to effect. When Cyrus heard this, being grieved at the very Heart, without answering a Word, he departed; and arming himself with Boldness, he went in to Astyages; and having first considered with himself how he might make his Address to him so without offence as to obtain what he requested in his own and his Associates behalf, he thus began; If any one of your domestick Servants should run away, and be again apprehended, tell me, Grandfather, how would you

treat him? How elfe, faid he, but force him like a Slave, to work in Fetters? But suppose he should return of his own Accord, how would you treat him then? How think'st thou, said he, but that having first caused him to be well fcourg'd, that he might do fo no more, receive him afterwards, and treat him as I had used to do. Then faid Cyrus, 'tis high time for you to fet about it and scourge me; for I have a design to run away, and take my Companions with me a hunting. Well, quoth Astyages, 'tis honeftly done however to give notice of it before-hand: for now I will lay my Commands upon you not to stir from home. Would it not be a pretty bufinels, if for a piece of hunted Flesh I should suffer my Daughters Son to wander abroad and be loft. When Cyrus heard this, in obedience to his Grandfathers Commands, he tarry'd at home. but with a forrowful Heart and fad Countenance kept still Silence, and spake not a Word. Wherefore, when Astyages perceiv'd how strangely griev'd and discontented he was, being willing to gratifie and comply with him, he takes him out to hunt; where having summon'd to attend him, a confiderable Number both of Horse and Foot, together with the Young Men. and forcing the wild Beafts into the open Plains, he made it a great and folemn Day of hunting. And being present himself in Royal Equipage, he streightly commanded that none should presume to shoot before Cyrus had taken his Fill of the Game. But Cyrus not enduring that he should forbid others, If you defire, Grandfather, quoth he, to make my Sport pleafar tome, permit all these

Xenophon's Institution and Book I

these my Companions to pursue the Game, and with their utmost Art and Strength to contend which of them shall behave himself best. Then Astyages gave them all leave to hunt, and himself stood still and beheld how eagerly they encountred the wild Beafts, what Strife and Contention they used in pursuit of, and striking their Darts at them. Exceedingly pleas'd he was with Cyrus, who could not contain himself for Joy, but like a true-bred generous Son of Gr. ordthe Game, still as he drew nearer any wild Beast Nani. would fet up a full Cry, animating and encou-Whelp. raging every one by Name: great delight also did he take to fee him laugh at, and deride one, and without the least shew of envying or repining, magnifie and commend another. At last having taken much Game, Astyages departed, and from thenceforward (so highly was he pleafed and fatisfied with this Hunting) as often as his Affairs permitted him, he would go abroad with Cyrus, and for his fake, among many others, he would take the Youths also to accompany him. Thus spent Cyrus the greatest part of his time, wherein he was the Author of much Pleasure to, and did good Offices for all men; but was instrumental in no mans Hurt or Difadvantage.

Now it happened that about the fifteenth or fixteenth year of his Age, the Kings Son of Affiria, being just upon the point of Marriage, was greatly defirous to hunt at that time. And understanding that in the Frontiers between them and the Medes were wild Beasts good store, which by reason of the Wars had been undisturbed.

his

his Pleasure was to go thither; where, that he might follow his Game without Danger or Molestation, he took with him a great number of light Horse-men and Targeteers, who were to drive the wild Beafts out of the rough woody Places into the Plains and Champion Fields. And being come as far as his frontier Towns and Garifons, he ordered a Supper to be made ready there, intending to hunt early the next morning. And in the Evening there came out of the City a Supply both of Horse and Foot to relieve the former Garison; so that now he thought he had a confiderable Army, having two Garisons conjoyn'd, besides abundance of Horse-men and Foot-men which he brought with him: wherefore, upon Deliberation, he concluded it best to make an Inroad into the Medes Country, and fetch Game from thence. both because his Hunting would seem more noble and gallant, and also he conceiv'd that by this means he shou'd have greater plenty of Beafts for Sacrifice. Thereupon, early in the Morning he led forth his Army, and leaving his Foot imbattel'd thick on the Borders, he with his Horse advanced forwards to the Fortresses of the Medes, where he fray'd, with the better and greater part of his Forces, left the Medes Garifons should fally out, and make head against those that were stragling and ravaging about the Confines. Then he sent out several Parties of forward and daring men to disperse themselves, fome one way and fome another, giving them in Charge, that what Game foever they met with as they rang'd about, they should drive

the

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I. the same to him; which they accordingly ber-

form'd.

When notice was given to Astyages that the Enemy had entred his Country, himself, with those that were about him, march'd out to relieve and defend the Frontiers; and his Son. with such a number of Horse-men as were in readiness, attended him: he likewise issued out his Commands to all others, that they should come forth and affift him. Now when the Medes faw the Assyrians thus numerous and in good order, their Horse-men in a quiet Posture not changing their ground, they themselves also made a stand. And Cyrus seeing others unani- Cyrus first moufly contributing their Assistance, he himself puts on likewise did the same, then first appearing clad Armours in Armour, when he did not yet so much as expect what he so earnestly desir'd, that he shou'd bear Arms. A compleat Suit of Armour it was. well befitting him, which his Grandfather had commanded to be made exactly to his Body. Thus gallantly accounted, and well mounted, forth he rode; whom when Astyages saw, he wondred who, or what put him upon coming thither; but withall commanded he should now tarry with him. And here when Cyrus had difcovered a number of Horse standing afront them, he enquired. Are those, Grandfather, says he, our Enemies yonder, that fit quietly on their Horse backs? Yes, said he, those are our Enemies. And are those too, quoth he, that beat about and drive the Prey before them? Yes, and they also. Then replied he, Verily Grandfather, they are, in appearance, but base, abject

Fellows, and mounted upon very Jades, though they thus spoil and carry away our Goods; therefore it is very requisite that some Party of us should issue out, and set upon them. But, faid he, feeft thou not, my Son, what a mighty Troup of Horse stands yonder in Battel Array, who, if we shou'd out, in pursuit after them, would intercept and cut us off? Besides, our Strength as yet is not confiderable. Yea, but if you will abide here, reply'd Cyrus, and recruit your Forces, these, for their parts, will be so afraid, that they will not dare to stir; and they that are carrying away the Spoil, will immediately

quit their Prey; when they see any Party of us ad-Cyrus's sea- vancing to charge upon them. And when he sonable ad- had thus said, Astyages thought he spoke somevice. thing to the purpose: admiring therefore his

prudent Circumspection and Vigilance, he commanded his Son to draw out a Party of Horse and pursue those that were driving their Booty before them; and as for these, I, said he, will fall upon them if they once stir to make head against you: so that they shall be forc'd to have an Eye this way to observe our motions.

Then Cyaxares leading out a Company of the floutest men, and best mounted, advanced towards the Enemy; whom as foon as ever Cyrus perceived marching forward, he also immediately fallied out and march'd with them; when getting in the head of them, he led them on a great pace,

Cyrus's

Gallanury. Cyaxares himself following close after, and the rest not far behind. Now when these Freebooters faw them approach near, they quickly lest their Prey, and fled: But Cyrus especially,

and his Followers, intercepted them; and such of them as they over-took they presently sew; but such as by shifting and turning out of the way, had escap'd them, those they closely purfu'd, and never defifted till they had taken some of them Prisoners. And as a generous Hound, not yet train'd up to the Game, flies eagerly and rashly at the Boar; so Cyrus rush'd on, minding only how he might strike him he could eafiliest reach, wholly regardless of any thing else.

Now the Enemies, as foon as they faw their

Fellows thus diffress'd, brought on their whole Body, supposing they would give over their Purfuit when they faw them coming upon them. But Cyrus remitting nothing of his Eagerness, His Rashfor joy calling out upon his Uncle, held them neis. in Chase still; and as he had the mastery over them, he made a great Rout and Slaughter amongst them. Cyaxares indeed followed close after, ashamed perhaps what his Father would think, and the rest came not far behind, being animated by fuch an Example, the more cheerfully to maintain their Pursuit, even such, who otherwise were not over-stout or valorous to ingage an Enemy. But Astyages, when he saw his Men with such inconsiderate Rashness still follow their Chafe, and the Enemy's just now facing them with a strong and well-formed Battalia, being follicitous both for his Son and Cyrus (lest they might, in the disorder they were in, by falling into the hands of their Enemies thus well appointed, endanger their own Perfons) marches directly upon the Enemy; who

no sooner saw the Medes coming upon them, but with their Arrows mounted and Bows bent, they him, because he saw his Grandfather's Counteing to their usual Custom, to charge upon them as soon as they came within Arrow shot: for er to make their Onset, shooting at random one against another, many times till the Evening. But when they saw their Men flying had stily to them for Refuge, Cyrus and his Follow. ers pursuing them close at the heels, and Astyages with his Cavalry now come within Bow shot, they themselves drew back and fled. The Medes followed them with all their Power, and affaulting them fiercely, took many of them, whom they fmote and overthrew, both Horse and Man, killing and flaying all that fell before them; nor did they in the least give over their Chase till they came to the Infantry of the Assyrians; and there fearing lest some greater Party might lye in Ambush to intercept them, they made a stand. Then Astyages rejoycing exceedingly for this Victory of his Horse-men, return'd; but of Cyrus he knew not what to fav or think; for he believed indeed, that the Success of this Action was to be imputed to him as the Principal Author; but withal, that he was over-bold and transported beyond measure: for even then when others were upon their Return home, he did nothing else but ride up and down to take a view of those that were flain; so that they that were appointed for that purpole and Bold- had much ado to bring him to Astyages; for he

commanded them to go a good space before

him.

stood their ground, as if they resolved, accord mance, at the sight of him, was become very stern and austere.

Life of Cyrus the Great.

Book I.

Thus went Affairs in Media; when Cyrus was their manner was, at this distance, and no near continually in every one's Mouth, whose Praises they made the Subject of their Songs and Difcourses; and Astyages as he had before highly honoured and esteemed him, so was he now struck with Astonishment and Admiration of him.

When Cambyses, Cyrus's Father, heard these He is call'd Reports, he rejoyced greatly; and understand-home by ing what manly Exploits Cyrus had already done, his Father. he fent for him, that he might go through the whole course of the Persian Discipline. Whereupon, as is reported, Cyrus declared, That depart he would, that he might give his Father no occasion of being displeas'd at him, nor the State of murmuring against him. Therefore Astyages thinking it requisite to send him away, presented him with such Horses as he had most liking to, and so honourably dismis'd him, having first furnish'd him with all things necessary, because he greatly loved him, and for that he had conceived mighty hopes of him that he would one day prove a man able both to fuccour and assist his Friends, and also to distress and vex his Enemies.

Now when Corus was upon his departure home, he was attended by Persons of all Ages and Degrees, as well Youths and those of his own Tears, as full-grown and elderly Men, with Astyages himself in Person, all mounted on Horseback; nor was there one, as is faid, that taking their

neß.

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Cyrus Li-

herality.

Xenophon's Institution and

their Farewel of him, return'd back with dry Eyes: Cyrus himself also is reported not to have departed without shedding abundance of Tears, distributing amongst his Companions many of those Gifts and Presents which Astyages before had bestowed upon him. In fine, putting of the Median Robe he had on, he gave it to one above all the rest, evidencing thereby what an especial regard he had for him. Now they that received these Gifts at his Hands came and prefented them to Astyages, who took them and dispatch'd them away to Cyrus again; by whom

they were forthwith returned back into Media, with a Message to his Grand-father to this essection If it be your Pleasure, O Grandfather! that I Chould ever return to you again well pleased and

nothing ashamed for any thing I have done, suffer, 1 befeech you, every Man to enjoy what I bestowed up-

on him. Which when Astyages heard, he did according to all that Cyrus had requested of him. But now to mention one pleasing juvenile Pas-

fage, 'Tis reported, that at Cyrus's Departure, when all took folemn leave one of another, his Kindred and Relations, after the Persian Fashion,

their Kindred with a Kifs.

The Persi. dismissed him with the formality of a Kiss. ans falute (which Custom prevails in Persia even at this day) when a certain, worthy, and gallant Gentleman of Media, seeing the rest of his Kinsmen faluting him with a Kiß, he himself, surprized for a long time, and aftonished at the Beauty and Behaviour of Cyrus, was utterly at a stand: but no fooner were they departed from him, than he coming up to Cyrus, thus bespoke him; Am I the only Man, O Cyrus! of all your Relations,

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I.

lations that you know nothing of? why? are you also my Kinsman, quoth Cyrus? yes replyed He. This then was the Reason, said Cyrus, that you so earnestly fixt your Eye upon me, for I often observed you so to do. In good Truth said he again though I had always a longing defire to come to you, yet such was my Bashfullness it would never permitt me. But that ought not to have been quoth Cyrus, seeing you are my Kinfman, and immediately came up to him and kissed him. The Mede after this Salute asked him, and is it indeed the Persian Fashion for Kindred thus to greet one another with a Kiss? yes said Cyrus both at your first meeting, after they have been absent from one another for some time, and also when at parting they take their leave each of other. Then quoth the Mede, it is high time that you should Salute me with another Kifs; For you see I am just now upon my departure from you. So Cyrus having kiss'd him a second time dismiss'd him, and went his way. But they had not rode far before the Mede return'd again with his Horse, all in a sweat; Whom when Cyrus faw, what, faid he, have you forgot any thing you had to fay to me? Nothing at all I protest, reply'd the other, only after a certain time I am return'd to you again. In Truth Kinsman quoth Cyrus, and a very short time 'tis I assure you. How short answered the Mede? know you not, O Cyrus, that if I am absent from you but the twinkling of an Eye, it feems to me a very tedious while, in regard that for that time I can't enjoy the fight of so gallant a Person as you are. Hereupon Cyrus smiled, and the first time it was he

Xenophon's Institution and Book I. he did so since his late Tears; biding him withall to depart chearfully and be of good Comfort, for that in a short time he would be with them again, and then said he, you may, if you please, look your fill, without so much as once taking your Eyes off me.

Cyrus returns into Perfia. Or Children.

Thus Cyrus returned into Persia, where 'tis said he underwent yet one year more the Discipline of the Youths, who at his first coming derided and scoff'd at him, as one that they thought had learn'd all the Delicacy and Effeminacy of the Medes: But when they faw him cat and drink with the same Relish and Appetite they did; and withall observ'd that if upon some Festivall Day there were any extraordinary Entertainment; He was so far from craving more, that he very readily distributed his own Portion to others: When they perceived besides, that He far surpass'd them in all other things, they began again to have him in great Reverence and Estimation. And after he had gone through the whole course of this Institution, he entred into the Society of the Young-Men, where likewise, by being intent and earnest upon his Duty, and vigorously performing what wasenjoyn'd him: by giving a respectfull Deference to the Elders and yeilding a dutifull Obedience to the Magistrates, He evidently out-did and excelled the rest.

Astyages

But in process of Time Altyages dyed in Media, and Cyaxares his Son, Brother to Cyrus's Mother, his Death succeeded him in the Kingdom of the Medes. And now the King of the Assyrians having utterly subdued all Syria and that no small Nation; and brought the King of Arabia under his Subjection ;

jection; having already reduced the Hyrcanians to Obedience, and now laying Siege to the Cities of the Battrians, he thought he might make an easie Conquest of all the neighbouring Countries if he could but once rebate and weaken the Power of the Medes, whom he look'd upon, for their Strength, to be the most considerable Nation of any round about him. Wherefore iffuing forth his Commands to all his own Sub- The hejests, he sent likewise to Crasus, King of Lydia, ginning of as also to the King of Cappadocia: He dispatch'd the Affyrihis Embassadors into both the Phygia's, Caria, and Paphlagonia; into India also and Cilicia, loading the Medes and Persians with Calumnies and Imputations, suggesting to them how great and puissant those States were; how they were affianc'd and conjoyn'd by mutual Marriages, and united together in one common Interest; so that unless some body did prevent and check their growing Greatness, very dangerous it was, that, invading one Nation after another, they would, by degrees, over-run them all. Some prevailed upon by these and the like Suggestions, and others brought over by his rich Gifts and Presents, with which he mightily abounded, all entred into a League of Association with him. But Cyaxares, the Son of Astyages, when he understood that his Combination and Design was meant against him, he himself, on the other fide, made what Preparations he could, fending his Dispatches as well to the Persian State in general as to his Brother-in-law Cambyfes, then reigning in Persia. He sent also to Cyrus, requesting him that he would use his utmost Endeayour,

tary

To Theo- deavour, that in case the States of Persia should σων κοινόν, send any Forces to his Assistance, he himself might come Commander in chief of them: (for by this time Cyrus having fully spent his ten years among the younger fort, was in all points Cyrus

Commander of the Persi-

TILLWV.

a compleat Man.) Cyrus therefore undertaking this Charge, was, by the Elders, the chief Councellors of State, elect Captain General of the an Forces. Median Expedition; to whom they gave com-2 % 'Oμο- million to choose out two hundred of the 2 Nobility; and to every one of those they allowed a Priviledge to make choice of four others of the fame Condition and Quality with themselves: fo that their number amounted to 2 Thousand. And to every particular Person of this thousand they gave Authority to levy, out of the Persian Commonalty, ten Targettiers, ten Slingers, and ten Archers: by which means, there were in all, besides a thousand of the choice Nobility, ten thousand Archers, ten thousand Targettiers, and ten thousand Slingers.

This so mighty an Army was committed to the Conduct of Cyrus, who was no sooner choien, but immediately he began at the Service of the Gods; and having first, by a favourable Sacrifice, found them propitious, he then proceeded to the choice of his two hundred Peers; who when they had each of them taken to themselves four others, Cyrus affembling them all together,

first spake to them to this effect:

His Oration to the Chieftains cc of the Ar- cc my.

" Country-men and Friends, I have made this "Choice, not as if I had never had any experience of You till now, but as an Eye-witnefs with what Vigour and Alacrity, even from vour

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I.

your Childhood, you have profecuted those things which this State reputes vertuous and praise-worthy; utterly renouncing whatsoever is here efteemed infamous and base. Now by what Motives induced, I have, not unwillingly, undertaken this weighty Charge, and fummon'd you hither, I intend to declare. cc I have learn'd by Observation, that our " Ancestors were in nothing inferiour to Us, for that they continually exercised themselves " in all the Actions of a vertuous Life: but tho gallant Persons they were, yet what Good they ever procured either to the Persian Estate in general, or in particular to their own, I can't possibly understand: for truly, I believe none ever put themselves upon the Exercise of any "Virtue to this end, that when they are thereby become perfettly good, they should never-" theless be had in no greater esteem than the basest of Men. And they that for the present debar themselves of any pleasurable Enjoyment, do " it not because they would never more rejoyce; but they lay this Restraint upon themselves, that hereafter, to make amends for this their present Abstinence, they may have a full Fru-" ition of all variety of Delights. They also " that defire to become powerful Speakers, make " it not the end and defign of their Studies never to give over their eloquent Pleadings; but their Trust is, that by their winning and per-" fuafive Language, having wrought upon the "Affections of divers Persons, they shall purchase to themselves many and great Advantaes ges. In like manner, Men that are upon Mili44

tary Duty, and exercised in Martial Exploits, don't undergo all that their toil and pains that they may never be disengaged from Bat-" tel; but this they propose to themselves, that when they are once become compleat and expert Warriours they shall procure both to them and their Country, abundance of Riches, increase of Happiness, and exceeding great "Honours. Now if any men after much Tra-" vel spent in these or the like Employments, " shall carelesly suffer themselves to be made " uscless and impotent by old Age, before they have reaped any fruit of their Labours; they feem to me to be much in the same Circumstances with him, who being desirous to be a good provident Husbandman, fows his ground well, and carefully plants it; but when he should come to reap the fruits of his la-" bour, he suffers the whole Increase untouch'd, ungather'd, to fall again to the Ground. And that Champion who by long Exercise has so prepared himself, that he may now justly be thought worthy to bear away the Prize, and 66 shall then end his days without any further proof of his Courage; fuch a one, in my "Opinion, is by no means to be excus'd from " the imputation of Folly. Let not us therefore, " my Country-men, be blameable upon this " score; but in regard we are conscious to our " felves, that even from our Childhood we have been exercised in all the performances of a " vertuous and honourable Discipline, let us " march out against our Enemies, whom I assu-" redly know, by what my felf has seen of them,

" to

Book I. Life of Cyrus the Great. 45 66 to be a very unequal match for us. For they cc are by no means to be reckon'd complear and able Warriours, who, though they can shoot and dart well, and are very experienc'd Horsemen, yet, where they are put upon hard-" ships and painful Duty, there they fail: but our Enemies are fuch as are wholly unacquainted with Labour and Toil. Nor are they to be held in any account, who when they 66 should be wakeful and vigilant, can't away with it: but our Enemies are such as are utter-" ly Strangers to Watchings and want of Sleep. "Nor are they to be regarded, who although " they may possibly be sufficiently qualified for these Duties, yet are altogether ignorant how to behave themselves towards their Confederates, and how towards their Foes: now 'tis plain, our Enemies are such as are persectly unexperienc'd in the most considerable points of Military Discipline. But you can make the virtue fame advantage of the Night as others of the grows Day: and in your Account, the principal greater by Guides to a happy Life are Labour and Travel. dation. Hunger to you is instead of Sauce; and to drink " Water more familiar with you than with Lyons. But of all the most noble and truly Souldier-like Treasure that you have stor'd up in your own Hearts, is, that you are more in love with Honour than with all the Possessions in the World besides: and they that are Lovers of it, must needs, for the attaining thereof, cheerfully undergo any hardship, and willingly expose themselves to all manner of danger. "Now for me, contrary to my own Knowledge,

to pronounce these things of you, were to put

a Cheat upon my felf; and in case your Per-" formances should not answer, the whole miscarriage would lye at my door. But such is vour own Experience, and your Affection to-

ward me, such the unskilful Ignorance of our Enemies, that I am confident I shall not be "disappointed in the good hopes I have con-

" ceived of you. Let us then march out with undaunted and courageous Hearts, in regard

" it has been the least of our Thoughts so much " as to feem unjustly to covet other mens Estates: cc for our Enemies are now the Aggressors and

"first Authors of Violence and Injustice; our ⁶⁶ Friends and Allies call upon us for Aid. And what is more just than to oppose and repell In-

" juries? and what more honourable than to fuccour and affilt our Friends? Besides, I be-

" lieve it will not a little raile vour Confidence and Resolution, that upon my undertaking

this Expedition, I did not carelesly neglect the Gods: for you, as being for the most part my

Confidents and Companions, can bear me witec ness, that not only in enterprizing great and weighty matters, but also in things of lesser

moment, I always began with their Service. To conclude, what need I fay more? You,

when you have taken unto you chosen Men, and are in all other points furnish'd and prepar'd, march out towards Media. As for me,

repairing first to my Father, I will then set forward, when having learn'd, with all possi-

ble speed, what State and Condition our Ene-" mies are in, I may, as much as in me lies,

make

Book I. Life of Cyrus the Great.

" make fuch provision for you that by Gods Af-"Iffance, this may prove an honourable and

prosperous Expedition.

They then accordingly went and provided "themselves; and Cyrus, after his return home, having paid his Vows to Vesta the Guardian of his Family, Jupiter the Protector of his "Country, and the rest of the Gods, immedi-

ately fet forth toward the Army; his Father " himself bringing him forward on his way:

who no sooner left the Palace, but as is reorted, (an Omen to him propitious) he was

faluted with Thundring and Lightning; upon which Presage, without any further Augu-'Olovicory, they let forward on their march, suppo- who. Di-

fing that these Signs of the mighty God could vining by not but be visible to and observ'd by all men.

" So Cyrus going on his Journey, his Father

began to discourse him to this Effect.

That the Gods, my Son, are auspicious and cambyses's favour your Expedition, is evident not only by Discourse Sacrifices but by calestial Tokens; and that you his Son. your self understand. For I always made it my business so to instruct you in these points, that you might not relie upon other Interpreters to make known to you the Counfel and Will of the Gods; but that your felf, seeing the Augural Signs, and hearing the Sounds, might perfeetly comprehend the same, without depending upon your Sooth fayers, who might, if they plea'd, impole upon you, by pronouncing things otherwife than the Gods had fignified. Besides that, if at any time you should want one of these Interpreters, you might not be left in a doubt what

Refo-

Refolutions to take upon these facred Signs and Monitions; but that according to your own skill in Divination, knowing what the Pleasure of the Gods was, you might obey the same. Assuredly Father, quoth Cyrus, that the Gods may still be gracious to us, and inclined to further and direct us, I will, to the utmost of my Power, persevere in a careful observance of what you advise. For

I remember, I have sometime heard you say. That upon good Reason he might more easily prevail with Heaven, as well as with Men, not who would servilely flatter in his Distress, but We ought who, in the height of his Prosperity, would, then

in Prospe- especially, remember the Gods. You said likeritychiefly wife, that the same Consideration and Regard

ffance.

God's Affi- ought to be had of Friends. Certainly therefore my Son, faith he, because of this your devout Zeal for the Gods, you come now with more cheerfulness to implore their Assistance; and with more assurance hope to obtain what you desire, in regard your Conscience seems to bear you witness, that you have never carelesly neglected their Service. In truth, Father, quoth he, I intirely repose my Confidence in the Gods, as in those that are my affectionate Friends. But what, my Son, reply'd Cambyfes, remember'st thou those things upon which we sometime made this Conclusion? Namely, That they that have been instructed therein make better use of the Blessings of God than those that are ignorant of them. That diligent and industrious Persons, as they do better improve those Gifts, so also do they lead more quiet and undisturb'd Lives than they that are supinely

negligent and regardless of the same. Wherefore

we rested in this Opinion, that we might then sue for good things at the hands of God, when we approved our selves such as we ought to be. Assuredly, Father, quoth Cyrus, I well remember I have heard you discourse of these Points; and I could not possibly but affent to what you said. For I know it was always your Opinion, that it could not be lawful for those that had never exercis'd themselves in Riding, to desire of the Gods Victory in a Battel against Horse-men; nor for those that never understood a Bow, to hope to gain the Mastery over such as were experienc'd Archers; nor for an ignorant and unskilful Saylor to pray, that, by his Steerage, the Ship may be brought fafe to the Harbour; nor for them that never fow'd Seed, to beg of Heaven a plentiful Crop; nor yet for fuch, who themselves use no Precaution in Battel, to make their Supplications to the Gods to protest them: that all these things directly contradict the Divine Ordinances. You declared likewise, it was equally reasonable that their Prayers should be frustrate, who beg unrighteous things at the hands of God, as their Petitions ineffectual who crave unlawful things at the hands of Men. But have you, my Son, quoth he, forgot those things which we once, upon very good Reason, resolv'd upon? That it is a great and commendable Att in any one, if he can, by a careful Industry, gain himself the Repute of an Honest Good Man; and withal make such Provision for himself and his Family, that they may have a convenient Supply of all manner of Necessaries. Now this being a How hard matter of fisch weight and difficulty, certainly it is to goto vern well.

to know how to govern other People, so, that they may not only have all things needful in great abundance, but also may approve themselves, all of them, such as they ought to be; this seems indeed to deserve our Admiration. In truth Father, reply'd Cyrus, I remember also I have heard you speak to this Point; and I my self was then of the same mind with you: That 'tis a great and extraordinary Task to govern well. Nor do I yet think otherwise, when I seriously weigh with my felf the Duty of a Governour. But when I come to take a view of other Men, to look into the Qualities and Conditions of those that are Rulers, and withall, to confider what kind of Adversaries we are like to meet with; I think it a very foul Reproach to be afraid of fuch Enemies, and not dare to march out in Battel against them; whom I, for my part, conceive (beginning even with these our Friends and Allies) to be generally of this Opinion, That, to diffinguish a Prince from his People, he ought to exceed them in sumptuous and expensive Feasts; in domestick Wealth and Treasure; in frequent and long Sleeping; and, in a word, in leading a more secure and careless Life than any of his Subjetts. Whereas for me, quoth Cyrus, my Opinion is, that a Sovereign ought not to exceed those he rules over in an unactive flothful Life, but in prudently foreseeing, and chearfully undertaking whatever may advance the common Good. True my Son, replied Cambyses, but there are certain Circumstances wherein we are not to contend with Men, but with Things, and those too such, as cannot without

extraor-

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extraordinary difficulty be overcome. As for Instance, you know, quoth he, if your Army be not stor'd with convenient Provision, you will quickly lose your Authority and Command. Yes, saith he, but Cyaxares, Father, has engag'd to furnish with Necessaries all that go from The Care hence, be their Number never so great. And a General do you, Son, answerd he, in Confidence of the ought to Wealth and *Pomer* of *Cyaxares*, undertake this have in making Expedition? I do so, quoth Cyrus. But what, Provision return'd he again, know'st thou how rich and for his Arpotent he is? Not I in the least, reply'd Cyrus, I my. profess not I. And do you, quoth he, notwithflanding, adventure to trust to such Uncertainties as these? Know you not that you shall stand in need of many Things, and will be inforced, even now, to expend much more, and otherwise, than you already have? I know it, quoth Cyrus. Well then, reply'd he, if either his Stores should fail, or he should designedly put the Cheat upon you, how will you make Provision for your Army? 'tis plain you will be but in an ill Condition. Therefore Father, saith he, if you know any means or method that I may put in Execution for raising such a Supply, pray impart it to me, whilst we are yet amongst our Friends. Do you, my Son, reply'd he, put that Question to me, whether there be any way for you to make Provision for your Army? Why, who is The way in a fairer way to be furnish'd with such Supplies how he than he that has Power in his hands? You march may do it. forth hence with a puissant Army of such Footmen under your Command, as, Iam confident, you would not exchange for a far greater number:

ber; to which the Median Horse, incomparably the best, will joyn themselves in Service. What adjacent Country then, do you imagine, will not be ready to comply with, and relieve you, both out of a Desire to do you a Pleasure, and alfo for fear themselves should be endamaged? And these things Cyanares and You ought joyntly to consider, lest at any time you should be destitute of those things that are necessary for your Support. Besides, even Custom obliges you to bethink your selves how to settle a sufficient Fund. But above all, be careful to remember this, that by any means you omit not to feek out for Provision till Necessity inforce you; but when you most of all abound, then especially, before you are reduced to Extremity, make it your Bufiness to lay up in Store: for when you feem to fland in no Need of it, you shall more easily obtain any Supply at the hands of those you defire it; and befides, there will be nothing in you at which your Souldiers will murmur or repine: but by this means you will command a greater Reverence and Esteem from others. And if you please to use your Forces either to distress or affist any People, so long as your Men are furnish'd with all things necessary, they will readily yield themselves obedient to you. And know affuredly this, that your Discourses will then be more prevalent and perswasive, when

then be more prevalent and personance, when was fless you can give a clear Demonstration, that you from act have Power enough both to do good and ill, both both and mot margaret to fleecour and to molest. Then Cyrus; You feem to discourse Father, quoth he, upon all these commonly Points admirably well, for that not one of the read.

Souldiers that shall receive any Gratuity now, will, upon that Account, make any return of Thanks to me, because they understand upon what Terms Cyaxares calls for their Affiffance; but whatfoever any one shall afterwards receive over and above his fet Stipend, this he will esteem as an honourable Reward, and will, undoubtedly, for the same, pay a grateful Acknowledgment to the Donor. For a Man then carelesy to neglect to make his own Advantages when he has Power both to serve and relieve his Friends, thereby to obtain the like Returns of Kindnesses from them; and also, by making Inroads and Attempts upon his Enemies to wrest from them what is theirs; is it think you, faith he, less to his Shame and Reproach, than for one who having Lands in Possession, and Labourers sufficient for Tillage, to let his Ground lye still unmanag'd, barren, and unprofitable? Wherefore entertain this Opinion of me, that I will never be wanting to use all possible Diligence to furnish my Army with Necessaries, whether in a Confederate or an Hostile, Country.

But Son, said Cambyses, do you not remember some other things which we sometimes thought highly necessary to be attended to, and regarded? I remember, reply'd he, when I came to you for Money to reward him that told me he had surnish'd me with Rules for the Conduct of an Army, you presently, giving me the Sum, began to question with me after this

fort.

Precepts for well ordering a Family.

Reward, among the Duties of a General, make any mention to you of 'Oeconomicks? for affuredly it will be equally your Concern to make Provision for your Souldiers as for Domestick Servants. Here when I spake the Truth to you

Did this Man, Son, to whom you present this

Diverse and told you he did not in the least mind me Rules for a of any such matter, you again ask'd me, What Commander to obferve.

Discourse had ye concerning a healthful State and strength of Body; about which a General

and strength of Body; about which a General ought to be no less sollicitous than about the Conduct of his Army? And when I deny'd we had had any, you again went on to demand what Method he had taught me to use, whereby my Men might become most excellent and compleat in all the Duties of a Military Life?

To this, when I deny'd he had taught me any, you proceeded yet further, to inquire what Infiruttions he had given me, whereby I might quicken the Spirits and raise the Courage of my Souldiers? affirming, that in all Undertakings

there is a vast difference betwirt a chearful Valour and faint-hearted Cowardise. And when to this also, I made Reply he had given me none, again you made a more narrow Inquiry, Whether he had delivered to me any Precepts

how an Army was to be held in Obedience, and by what means one might most effettually bring it to pass? But when it appear'd that he

had pass'd over this likewise without so much as once speaking to it; at last you put this Question to me, what one Point he had taught me, when he declared. He had taught me the Office

when he declared. He had taught me the Office of a General? To this, when I reply'd, He

had instructed me how to 'marshal and imbattel' TO TENan Army; you, smiling thereat, recounted ling.
what had been said, setting every particular be-

fore me, as namely, What, faid you, can Difcipline and Order advantage an Army that is unfurnish'd and destitute of necessary Provisions? What can it avail without a healthful Constitution

tion? What without the Knowledge of those Inventions which were devised for the Improve-

ment of War? And what without the Obedience of the Souldiery? Thus you having made it evident to me that to set an Army in Battel Ar-

ray was the least part of a General's Care; and I withal desiring to know whether it were within your Sphere to instruct me throughly in any of

these Points; you commanded me to go and conferr with such Officers and Commanders as were reputed Men of greatest Experience in Mi-

litary Affairs, and there to inform my self how all this might be perform'd. Since which time

I have been conversant, especially with such whose Wisdom and Skill herein had given them the greatest Reputation. As for vistualling the

Army, I am perswaded, that what Provision Cyaxares will make for us will be sufficient for,

the present. And for Health, because I both hear and see such Cities as have a Regard sor,

and defire to preserve the same, make choice of able Physicians; and Generals also, for the sake

and benefit of their Souldiers, have Men skill'd in Physick that follow their Gamp: so I likewise,

as foon as I entred upon this Charge, immediately took special Care thereof. And I believe,

Father, quoth he, I have with me Men of ap-

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of Phyprov'd Experience in the Practise of this Art. fick. To this his Father replied, But these Physicians, my Son, you speak of, are like certain Botchers that patch up torn Garments; for when Men are brought low by Sickness then they restore

them. For this Reason, your Regard to the Conservation of Health will be more honourable and praise-worthy, whose great Care. even from the beginning, ought to be such, that

your Army fall not into any Diftemper. And what Method Father, quoth he, shall I take to

be able to effect this? Why thus, replied he, Let it be your principal Concern to mark out a wholfom place for the Lodging of your Army,

where you intend to lye incamped any confiderable time; in which you can't eafily err if

vou are but careful in making your Observations; for Men commonly are very free in their Discourse what Parts of the Country are dis-

eas'd, and what are healthful. Besides, the very Constitution and Complexion of the Inhabitants are evident Testimonics both of the one and

the other. Yet, after all, it is not sufficient for you to enquire into the *Nature* of this or that

² Clime, but you must remember what Endeavours you are to use, what Care to take of your felf, that you may preferve your own Per-

fon in Health. I affure you then, quoth Cyrus, first of all I take good heed that I never surfeit

or overcharge my Stomach; for that is nauscous and irklome. In the next place, whatfoever I have taken, by Labour I digest and sweat it out:

for by this means chiefly I perceive my Health continued, and my Strength increased.

fame

Book I. Life of Cyrus the Great.

same Care therefore, my Son, quoth he, ought to be had of others. But may common Souldiers, Father, reply'd he, have leisure to exercise their Bodies? Yes, assure your self, return'd

his Father, they not only may, but must: for Men in Arms, if they would do what they ought, should never sit idle, but be perpetual-

ly employ'd, either in working Mischief to their Enemies, or Advantage to themselves. 'Tis of ve-

ry ill Consequence, my Son, to feed but one idle Person; and much more to provide for a

sorbful Family; but to maintain a whole Army

in Idleness, that's intolerable. In a Camp there are many Spenders, even of the meanest Rank,

and whatfoever they get they waste most profusely; so that it is utterly inconvenient for an

Army to be idle. Your Discourse to me, Fa-

ther, quoth Cyrus, feems to tend to this; That as a fluggish Husbandman reaps no Advantage,

fo from a lazy General arises no Good. But for a vigilant and active Commander, I dare under-

take, quoth he, (unless some God prevent it) he shall so provide, that his Army shall be stor'd

with all things necessary, and his Souldiers enjoy a vigorous Health. To the end therefore that they may be throughly practis'd in all Martial

Exploits, methinks Father, if I should proclaim publick Games with Proposals of Reward to the

Victors, I should certainly obtain this, that they would be perfectly exercis'd in all Points of War; so that when Occasion requir'd, I

could command Men experienc'd and fit for Service. Exceedingly well laid, my Son, quoth he, for if you do this, assure your self, you will

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see your Military Bands always as careful to keep a due Decorum and Order, as Dancers to obferve their Measures. Now to make Men daring and couragious, nothing, quoth Cyrus, seems to me more effectual, than to be able to raise their Hopes and Expellations. But this, my Son, replied he, is much after the rate, as if one, following his Chase, should perpetually encourage his Dogs in the fame Note he uses when he has his Game in view. At first, I know very well, they will readily hear and obey his Voice; but, if he baulks them too often, at last they will not at all regard him, even when he really fees his Prey before him. And so it is in this business of Hope: if a Man put them in Expectation of great matters, and often deceive them, at last, tho he propose to them certain and real Hopes, he will not be able to gain any credit with them. Therefore, my Son, a Man ought to be cautious how he affirms that which he himself is not well affur'd of. Others may fornetimes do fo, and obtain their Ends; but a General, thereby to make them the more plaufible, ought to referve his Encouragements to the last and greatest Extremities.

In good Truth, Father, quoth Cyrus, methinks you fpeak to these Points admirably well, and your Discourse to me is very pleafing.

But how to keep my Army in Obedience, I think, I am not now to feek; for you your felf instructed me herein betimes, even from my Childhood, exacting Obedience from me; and when you left me to the Tuition of Masters, they also

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I. also taught me the very same Lesson. After- How a wards, when I came to converse among the Prince is Toung-men, our Governour had a strict and pe-to gain the Obedience culiar Regard to this very thing. And general- of his Pecly the Laws seem especially to teach these two ple.

Points, to command, and be commanded. And indeed, when I seriously consider these Things, methinks I discover thus much, that the most effectual Inducement to Obedience is to reward the dutiful with Glory and Advancement, and the Obstinate with Punishment and Disgrace. To make Men obey indeed by Constraint, this quoth he, Son, is the ready way; but to bring them to, what is far more excellent, a voluntary and free Obedience, there is another, and that more compendious Method to be us'd; for whom they believe to be more prudent in promoting their own Good than themselves, him they will very cheerfully obey. And that this is really true, as in many other Instances, so is it more especially perceivable in fick Persons, how ready are they to fend for those that may prescribe to them what they ought to do? Likewise at Sea, how willingly do the Passengers refign themselves up to their Pilots? How earnestly also will some People press forward to keep pace with such as they suppose are more skillful in, and better known the Roads than they. Whereas if they think their Obedience will turn to their Disadvantage, they will neither be much humbled by Punishments, nor encourag'd by Rewards; for no Man willingly does purchase Gifts with his own Lofs. This then, Father, quoth he, is the Result of

your Discourse; That to keep ones Subjetts in

their

* 'App (1- their Obedience and Fidelity, nothing ' conduces pubreegr. more than to have the Repute of being wifer than they. It is so, reply'd he. But how, Father, may a Man foonest gain himself that Reputation? There is not, my Son, answer'd he, any readier way, than to be really mife in those things wherein you defire to appear fo. Now if you shall feverally weigh and look into these Particulars, you will be convinc'd that I speak Truth. For do but consider, if you have a Mind to pals either for a good Husbandman, or an expert Horse-man, or an able Physician, or a skillful Musician, or any such like, when in truth you are nothing so, how many Shifts and Contrivances you must make use of to give a Colour to this Reputation. And suppose you should, by your Perswasions, induce many Men so to praise you, that thereby you might gain your felf a valuable Esteem, and have given sair Essay's in all these Points; you will only at present put the Cheat upon others, and quickly after, when you come to the Test, you your felf will lye under a Reproach, and in the end appear a vain-glorious Impostor. But how may a Man really attain to such Fore-sight, as to confult what will make for his Interest hereafter? Why thus my Son, quoth he; If you learn all other things that can be taught you, as you have * The Tax the commanding and imbatteling an Army. And as for those things which by ordinary Instruction

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are not attainable, nor can by humane Wildom be foreseen, if therein you by Divination confult the Gods, you will be really wifer than the rest of Mankind; especially if you make it your

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Business to put that in Execution which you know to be absolutely best. For tis an industrious Diligence to procure what is requisite, and not a careless Neglett that intitles a Man to more Wisdom than others. But now for a Prince to win the Hearts and Affections of his People (which I look upon to be one of the greatest Points of all) he must, undoubtedly, take the same Measures with him that desires to be belov'd by his Friends. And here, I conceive his Bounty ought to be publick and conspicuous. But therein, my Son, quoth he, lyes a great difficulty; for a Man can't always oblige those he would: but to seem to rejoyce for, and congratulate their good Fortune, to have Compassion on, and condole their Mishaps; to express an earnest desire to succour them in their Distress, to be thoughtful and concern'd least they should fall into Calamity, and carefully to endeavour to prevent the same; in all these Cases he ought to go with them, as it were band in band.

To come now to the Allion of War; If Service must be perform'd in the heat of Summer, a General ought, in the face of his Army, to endure the foorching Sun above the rest; if in the depth of Winter, the piercing Cold; if Labours must be undergone, there to put himself upon the greatest Hardships: for to gain the Love of his Subjetts all thele things are highly conducible. This then you affirm, Father, quoth he, that a Commander, upon all Occasions, ought to be more forward to encounter Dangers than those that are commanded by him. I do

your

I do so, reply'd he. Nevertheless, my Son, be of good Courage; and know affuredly this, * Cicero in that the ' fame Labour and Travel doth not Tusc. Quast. equally affect the same Constitution of Body in

a General and in a common Souldier; for in a General the Prospect of Honour makes his Toil more casie, and besides that, he knows all Mens Eyes are upon him, to see how he will acquit himself. But now, Father, taking it for granted, that the Army is stor'd with all necessary Provision, the Souldiery in perfect Health, fit and ready for Action, throughly acquainted with all the parts of warlike Discipline, prompted by a defire of Glory to approve themselves truly valiant, and more glad to obey than to be mutinous and obstinate; would it not now, think you, be a feasonable Piece of Prudence with all possible speed to give the Enemies Battel? By any means, quoth he, if he be like to make any advantage to himself thereby: but if not, I, for my part, should proceed with so much the more Caution, by how much I efteem'd my felf and my Followers better appointed and stouter Men than they; just as we deal by other things, that upon which we put the highest Value, we endeayour to preferve in the greatest Security. But how, Father, especially may a Man so manage himself as to be before hand with, and out-do his Enemies? Indeed, Son, that is a Question of no common nor ordinary Concern: for be affured, that he that would effect this must be a subtile Designer, a close Dissembler, full of Treachery and Falshood, a secret Pillager, and an open Robber; in every thing he must beguile and circumvent

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book I. cumvent his Enemy. To this Cyrus smiling, reply'd, Heavens! what manner of Man will you perswade me to be? Such a one, my Son, as you may be most exactly just, and a punctual Observer of the Laws. How can that be, quoth he, seeing in our younger Years you taught us what is directly contradictory to this? True, my Son, and the same we do still, in respect of our Friends and Fellow-Citizens. But that you might be able to distress your Enemies, don't you remember how many Stratagems and Wiles you learn'd? Not at all truly, Father, reply'd he. To what end then, quoth he, did you learn to (hoot? to what purpose were you taught to dart? to what intent did you hunt the wild Boars? intangle them in Toils, and surprile them in Pits? Why did you go about to betray the Stags into your Snares and Ginns? Why durst you not, upon equal Terms, encounter the Lyons, and Bears, and Leopards, but would then always endeavour to attack them when you took them at some Advantage? What, know you not that all these things are nothing else but so many Wiles, Deceits, Frauds, and Circumventings? 'Tis true, quoth Cyrus, they are so, but us'd only against wild Beasts: and I remember I was severely scourg'd if I were but so much as suspected to go about with a Design to deceive any Man. And justly too, quoth he, for, I suppole, we did not allow you to shoot or dart at any Man, but taught you directly to hit the Mark; not that at the present you might mischief your Friends; but that, on occasion, in time of War, you might more exactly strike

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your Enemies. So that you were train'd up to practise these Arts and Stratagems not against Men but against Beasts, to the end that thereby you might not hurt or molest your Friends, but that, when Wars came on, you might not appear altogether unexperienc'd herein. But Father, quoth he, if it be of such Consequence to know both how to do Men good, and how to injure them, then certainly we ought to have learn'd of them both the one and the other. 'Tis true indeed, quoth Cambyses, we have it by Tradition, that in the Days of our Ancestors, there was a certain Teacher who instructed Youth in the Principles of Justice, much after the rate you would have it; He taught them not to lye and to lye; not to put a Cheat upon others, and to cheat them; not to bring false Accusations, and to accuse falsly; not to use Oppression, and to be Oppressors. And in all these Points, made this Distinction, how we are to

taught Hotreat our Friends, and how our Enemies. Nay he proceeded yet farther, and taught, That it was lawful, for our own Profit, to deceive even our Friends; and to pilfer and steal from them to advantage our felves thereby. Now he that taught such Principles as these, must needs exercise his Scholars in the practice of the same one amongst another: like as 'tis reported of the Greeks, that in their Wrestling Schools their Champions are taught to use Falshood and Deceit; and their Youth are thus train'd up, for the same end, that they may be able to beguile and supplant one another. So that some of them, proving naturally very witty at putting handsome Cheats

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cheats upon others, and cunningly deceiving them, and perhaps forward enough to make gain of any thing, did not spare even their Friends, but made Attempts upon them to overreach them. Hereupon it was established by a Law, which is even at this Day in force a- "PHTEGE mongst us, That we should instruct our Chil- and, not dren in plain down-right Honesty; even as we penters, teach our Servants, to speak with, and deal sin- in Plutarch cerely with us, not to cheat, not to rob, not to cir-calls his cumvent us: and if they offend in these particu- Laws lars to punish them; to the end that having Phypage throughly imbib'd these Principles, they may prove more honest and plain dealing Men. Now when they were come up to about your Age, then was it thought very fafe to instruct them in the Laws of Arms: For that having been train'd up so as to have a mutual Respect and Reverence one for another, it is not to be suppos'd that you should afterwards lash out so far as to become Bruitish and untrastable. Even as we forbear to discourse of Venery, and the Pleafures of Love before those that are very young, lest possibly the Violence of Passion meeting with an inclinable Constitution, they might use the fame with Excess. You have faid the very thing, quoth Cyrus; and therefore I befeech you, Father, in regard I come late to learn this Art, that you would not fail to inform me in all the Points you know, by which I may be enabled to make my Advantage of my Enemies. Let this then, reply'd he, be your main Diverse and principal Design, when your own Men are of War, in all points prepar'd, endeavour to attack your

Enemies

Enemics in some Diforder: When you are well appointed, to fet upon them unarm'd: When yours are watching, to surprize them asleep: You must view what Posture they are in, your felf undiscover'd to them: You must take advantage of the most secure and fenced Places. where you may at unawares affail your Enemies in Streights and Difficulties. But how is it possible, Father, quoth he, that a Man should catch his Enemies in fuch over-fights as these? Becaule, Son, faid He, there is a necessity in it, that you as well as your Adversaries, should fall into divers of these and the like Circumstances. For you must of necessity, both of you, forrage the Country for Provision; you must both sleep. and take your Rest; and in the morning you must, almost all of you, range abroad to furnish your selves with Necessaries; And look what way soever you bend your course, be it better or worse, you must pursue it. Now of all these things you ought seriously to deliberate, that where you find your felf the meaker Party. there you may use the greater Precaution: and that you may, when you perceive you have your Enemies at the best Advantage, then and there especially, attack them. And are we. quoth Cyrus, to endeavour to be before-hand with our Enemies in these Points only, or in fome others also? Not in these only, reply'd he, my Son, but more principally in others. For in these cases, all Men commonly keep a strict and severe watch, as knowing 'tis necessary

for them fo to do: But they that go about

to circumvent their Enemies, can either, by

making

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making them first confident, and think they

are secure, furprize them unawares; or by betraying them into a jursuit, break their Ranks, and disorder their battel: or by the wile of a pretended flight, draw them into Streights and Ambuscades, and so attack them. Now for you, my Son, it becomes you, not only to make use of all those Arts and Designs of War which you have so earnestly desired to be instructed in; but also of your accord to invent and contrive other Stratagems against your Enemies. Just as Muficians don't content themselves barely with the Practice of those Tunes they have been taught, but are continually inventing new Composure's of their own. And as in Musick what is new and gay is most taking and delightful, so much more in War new Stratagems and Policies are highly approved of; as being best accommodated to betray and circumvent the Enemy. Now for you, my Son, quoth he, if you would employ only those wiles and devices against your Enemies which you have us'd against leffer Creatures, think you not that you should make a very fair advance towards the getting an absolute Mastery over them? For you, even in the dead of the Winter, would up in the night, and out a Birding: and your Nets and Snares for that purpose were so prepar'd for them, that you prevented their first stirrings, and made your counterfeit moveable Pitfall feem as if it were fixt and real. Befides, you had fome Birds so perfectly well taught, as to be serviceable to your designs, by decoying into your funite:

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fnares those of their own kind; whilst you lay fecretly in Covert to fee them, so as to be undiscover'd by them: and your great Care was to secure and inclose them before they took wing. But for the Hare, because she is a Creature that shuns the Light and the Day, and feeds in the dusk of the evening, you kept your Hounds, which tracing her by the scent, might start her; and because she is no sooner put up, but she betakesher self presently to her heels, you had other Dogs train'd up for the fame purpose, that they might take her upon the stretch. Now if she chanc'd to out-strip these also, you presently sought out her musing holes, and observing what paths she generally took, you accordingly so pitcht your nets, that she not discerning them, in the eagerness of her flight, might fall into them, and entangle her self therein. And that she might not possibly escape hence, you had your Lurchers and Spies to planted, that they might obferve what pass'd, who being near at hand, might immediately come upon her; you in the mean time behind her, filling her cars with your shouts and hollowings, terrify'd her fo that you might furprize her unawares; whilft they that lay in wait before her, having been by you charged to be filent, kept under Covert close and unseen. Therefore, as I intimated before, if you would put in practice these and the like Artifices against Men, I for my part know not how you should be inferiour to any of your Adversaries. But now suppose you should be necessitated in an open field

field, and pitcht Battel to engage your Enc-Of joyning my, when you are on both fides well appoint. Battelinoed; in this case, my Son, those Arts and Ad-pen field. vantages of War wherein you have improved your felf before, are very prevalent and effective. As for inftance, If your Souldiers have well inur'd themselves to bodily Exercise, if their Stirits have, on occasion, been quickned and enliven'd, and they throughly acquainted with all the Arts of War. Besides, you must know this for certain, that all those from whom you your self exact Obedience, will think it but reasonable that you should consult their Interest and Safety. Therefore you ought not by any means to be careless and remiss, but to design in the Night how you will have your Men

best to dispose and order the concerns of the Night. But how to fet an Army in Battel array; how to conduct them in the Day, and how in the Night; how through Streights, and how in open Plains; how over Mountains, and how in

employ'd in the Day, and in the Day-time how

let Watch and Ward by Night as well as by Day; how to Advance against the enemy, and how to Retreat; how to march before

Champaign Countrys; how to Incamp; how to

an hostile City; how to approach the Walls, and how to retire; how to lead through Forests, and how to pass Rivers; how to secure your self against the Horse, how against Dart-

ers, and how against Bom-men: likewise if you lead your Army display'd into Wings, and the Enemy appear and make head against you, how

you are to confront and oppose them: or again

ing of Birds.

Xenophon's Institution and Book I

φάλαγξ. if you lead in a close 'Squadron, and the enemy flank you on some other fide, and don't appear in the Front, how you ought to charge them, and give them Battel: as also how you may best discover the Designs of your Enemies, and they not have the least knowledge of what projects you have in hand; Now all these things I need not repeat. For whatfoever I my felf knew, I have often inculcated to you; and befides if there were any elfe that were thought knowing and experienced in these points, such you never flighted or contemn'd, and you made no finall improvement thereby. Wherefore my opinion is, that upon all Occurrence you take fuch measures as you shall think most conducible to your Defigns. And withal, my Son, take with you this weighty and important Instruction: never hazzard any thing either in your own perfon or your Army, in contradiction to the warnings of Sacrifices and 'Auguries. For, believe y olange. me, Men undertake things only by ghess, not Divination knowing in the least how, or from whence, any by the flygood should accrue to them, which you may plainly discover by the event. For many there have been, even fuch as have had the Reputation of very wife Men, who have prevail'd with States to war upon others, by whom they that have been perswaded to be the Aggressors,

> have been utterly overthrown. Many having rais'd up several private Persons, and improv'd whole Communities, have nevertheless suffered the utmost extremity at their hands that they

> have thus advanc'd. Many likewise when they might have used others as Friends, with mu

Book I. tual returns of kindness and good-will, chusing rather to make them their Vasfals than their Friends, have from those very Persons severely suffer'd and smarted for the same. Many also not content to enjoy a pleasant and serene Life with their own Portion and Lot, but having an Ambition to Lord it over all, have thereby loft even what they were possest of. And many having gotten great Treasures of their beloved Gold, have upon that very account So that Humane been ruin'd and undone. Wisdom knows no more how to chuse what is best, than if we should make a Lottery the Guide of our Actions. But the Immortal Gods, my The Gods Son, know all things, what's past, what prefent, are omnificient. and what shall be the Event of every thing. And look whomsoever they vouchsafe to favour, if they crave advice of them, they forewarn them what they ought to attempt, and what not. Nor are you to wonder at it, if they will not be equally favourable to all Men; for no Necessity can constrain them to have a Re-

Life of Cyrus the Great.

The End of the first Book.

BOOK F 4

tual

gard to fuch as they will not.

BOOK II.

Me Iscoursing thus together, they were advanc'd as far as the Confines of Persia; where, after an Auspicious Eagle had appear'd unto them, and conducted them in their way, first making their supplications to the Gods, and Guardians of the Fersian Nation. that they would favourably and graciously dismiss them, they pass'd the Boundaries: which done, and again having supplicated the Tutelar Gods of Media, that they would vouchsafe them a gracious and favourable reception, They, as beseem'd them, embrac't each other, and departed; the Father again into Persia, but Cyrus continu'd on his way into Media to Cyanares his Uncle. Whither, when he was come, after mutual Congratulations past, Cyanares inquird of Him how great an Army He had brought. * al. &- He reply'd, thirty thousand of those that came The feet to you heretofore to serve as Mercenaries. Be-20000, fides these, there come others of the 'Nobility * The first never yet went forth to War. How many

mand

Mortof them? quoth Cyaxares: For their Number, mar, faid Cyrus, when you hear it, it will not greatly Parium, please you; but know this, that few as They the Nobiare, of those we call Peers, they easily com-My.

Book II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

mand all the rest of the Persians. But do you, quoth He, stand in need of them? or were your fears causeless, and your Enemies come not at all? Yes affuredly they come, reply'd He, and your Number is very great. But how does this appear? Because, said He, many that come from thence, though they make different reports of things, yet they all agree in this. Must we then of necessity fight these men? 'Tis unavoidable, quoth He. Why then, answered Cyrus, did you not inform me what you knew of their ftrength, with what Power they invade Us, as likewise what our own forces are: that we being affured of the Weought flrength of both Parties, might take our Mea- to know fures accordingly which way best to give them our Ene-Battel.

Hear me then, quoth Cyanares, Crastes King firength. of Lidia, brings, as is reported, ten thousand Horse-men; and of Targetters and Bow-men more than forty thousand. Artamus, Prince of the greater Phrygia, brings into the field about eight thousand Horse-men, and of Spear-men and Targettiers no less than forty thousand. Aribaus, King of Cappadocia, leads forth about fix thousand Horse-men, and of Archers and Targettiers not fewer than thirty thousand. Maragdus, the Arabian, comes against us with ten thousand Horse, an hundred Chariots, and of Slingers an innumerable multitude. As for the Greeks that inhabit Asia, 'tis not yet certainly faid whether they follow or no: but for those of that part of Phrygia that borders upon the Hellespont, the report is, that Gabaus has joyn'd them,

Book II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

them, who comes from about the Plains of Caystrus with fix thousand Horse, and ten thoufand bearing Shields. The Carians, Cilicians and Paphlagonians, as the Rumour goes, follow not, though they were invited. And for the Assyrian Monarch Himself (as being Lord of Babylon, and of all the rest of Assyria besides) He. I suppose, will not bring into the field less than twenty thousand Horse-men; Chariots, I believe, not above two hundred; but of Foot, I imagine (as He uses to do when He invades these Countrys) an exceeding great number. According to this your Account, quoth Cyrus, our Enemies Horse amount to threescore thoufand; their Targettiers and Bow-men to above two bundred thousand. Well now inform me, what is the Number of your own Forces? The Median Horse, quoth He, amount to above ten thousand; of Targettiers and Archers, we may possibly in our own Territories, levy threescore thousand. The Armenians, our Neighbours, will assist us with four thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot. Then at the rate you compute, quoth Cyrus, our Horse are less than one third part of the Enemy's Cavalry; and our Foot does not fully reach half their Infantry. How then? quoth *Cyaxares*, and don't you think those Persians, you say you have brought with you, to be very few? But whether we have, quoth Cyrus, any fuch need of Men, or no, we shall consult by and by: therefore tell me in order what are your several ways of fighting. We do all of us in a manner, reply'd Cyaxares, fight much after the same sashion. For there arc

are among them, as well as amongst Us, those that use both Arrows and Javelins. If these are their Weapons, quoth Cyrus, it must of necessity follow that there will be Excursions and Skirmishes at a distance. Undoubtedly so, quoth Cyaxares. Then, reply'd Cyrus, they must needs be Conquerours that are most numerous: for 'twill be much more easie for the many to wound and destroy the few, than the few the many. If this be the Cafe, my dear Cyrus, faid He, what can we think of better than to fend dispatches to the Persians, and withall to give them to understand, that what Calamities foever befall the Medes, the same will also reach them; and thereupon to crave of them greater Assistance. Well, quoth Cyrus, but know this, that although the whole Power of Perfue should come forth to aid Us, we shall not yet be able to furpass our Enemies in Number. What Expedient then, quoth He, can you devise better than this. For my part, answered Cyrus, were I as you, I would immediately provide for all the Persians that are coming hither, exactly such Armour as those Noble-men of ours, which we call Peers, are furnished with: Which is this, a Breast-plate, a light Target for the left hand, and a Falchion, or Cymitar in the right. This if you do, we shall be able, with more safety, to close with our Enemies, and encounter them hand to hand; and they also will think it more eligable to fly than to maintain their ground. For those of them that keep the field, we Per-. fians will give them Battel, committing such as fly to you and your Horsemen; that so they may have

Xenophon's Institution and Book II.

have no opportunity either to fave themselves by flight, or to rally again. Thus spake Cyrus. and Cyaxares so well approved of what He had

faid, that now He made no further mention of fending for fresh supplies, but immediately began

to make ready the aforefaid Armour, which was scarce yet dispatch'd, e're the Persian Nobility

were advanced with the Army sent out of their own Country. Whom when Cyrus had affem-

bled together, He spake to them to this effcct:

Country-men and Friends, when I saw you Cyrus's Othus well Arm'd, and withal perceiv'd your ration to the Noble c hearty Resolutions to joyn close Battel with the Enemy; but the rest of the Persians, your Perfia.

followers, no otherwise appointed than to skir-'mish here and there at random: I was highly concern'd, lest possibly, you, as you are few

in Number, and destitute of others to relieve you, might, being overpower'd by your Enemies, be reduc'd to Extremity and Diffress. But

onow in regard you bring hither Bodies so mane ly and robust, that they can't be excepted

against, and they also are to be arm'd like your selves; our great business will be to animate and quicken them. For tis a General's

Duty not only to be brave and daring Himself, but also to take effectual Care that those under 'Him acquit themselves with Gallantry and

c Courage.

When Cyrus had thus faid, and they underflood they should have more Companions in the Battel, they were all exceeding glad; and one of them stood forth and spake to this effect: 'My discourse

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book II. discourse perhaps would be lookt upon as very The Oratia strange, should I take upon me to advise Cy- on of one

rus to fay any thing in our behalf, to those that of the Noare to be our Fellow-Actors in the War, when they put on their Armour: but this I am affured of, that Their words make the deepest Impressi-

on in the hearts of their Audience, who have the

greatest Power to do good or ill. Likewise the

Gifts and Largesses of such Men, though they are less considerable than those of a samiliar

Friend, yet are they more highly valued and efteem'd by the Receivers. So now these Per-

' fians would more cheerfully follow the Exhor-

tation of Cyrus himself, than if they were coun-'fell'd and encourag'd by Us. And being ad-

'mitted into the Order of Peerage, they will

think it more securely confirm'd to them, if 'it be done by their King's Son and their Gene-

'ral, than if they were by Us advanced to the

fame Dignity. Nevertheless, we must not be

wanting in what concerns Us, but ought by all means possible to raise and enliven the

hearts of these Men: for the more valiantly they behave themselves, the more will it be

for our Honour and Advantage. Hereupon Cyrus having affembled together all the Perfian Souldiery, and placed the Armour in the midst

of them, spake to them as follows:

'Men of Persia. In regard you were born and Cyrus's Obred in the same Country with Us, and have ration to Bodies nothing inferiour to Ours; 'tis requi- his Souldi-

fite likewise that you equal Us in Valour and ers. 'Resolution of mind. For though you are

fuch stout Men, yet in our own Country you

e never shar'd like Honours with Us: not that "We debarr'd you that Priviledge, but that there was a Constraint upon you to provide Necesfaries for your felves. But now, by the Divine Affiftance, I shall take Care that there be no want of these things; and you, although you are in some fort of a lower Rank, in respect of ^c Us; may yet, if you please, put on the same Armour we wear, and encounter the same Dangers we do; and if you perform any brave and noble Exploit, be advanc'd equally with Us in Honour and Esteem. Hitherto you have been us'd to Bows and Darts as well as me, ne-'vertheless' tis not at all to be wondred at, if vour Skill and Experience herein fall short of Ours; for you had not the leifure and opportunity to practife these things, which we had. But now in this kind of Armour here before you, we shall not have the least advantage of you. For every one shall have a Breast-plate fitted to him, in his left hand a light Target (such as we all have been us'd to carry) and in his right hand a Sword or Cymitar, wherewith to straite down his Adversaries, who can't posfibly escape Him if He direct his stroke aright. 'In these Circumstances what is it wherein we can One furpals another, but by being daring and forward? which ought to be Your Concern no less than Ours. For as for Viltory "(which both inflates Us in, and likewife fecures to Us all things that are honourable and 'good) upon what account fhould We be more defirous of it than You? And as for Power " (which bellows upon the Conquerours all the

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Life of Cyrus the Great.

'spoils of the Vanquished) what reason have "We to endeavour after it rather than you? To 'conclude, you have heard the whole matter, you see all the Armour here before you; let every Man take what is fit for Him, and fo ' give his Name to some Centurion in the Army, that he may be enroll'd in the same rank 'and quality with Us. As for those that content 'themselves with the Condition of Mercenary Souldiers, let them still continue to wear such 'Arms as are proper for Servants and Attendants.

Thus spake Cyrus, whom when the Persians had heard, they concluded that they justly deserved to lead a wretched and uncomfortable Life for the future, if, upon so fair an Invitation, to partake of the like Dangers, and to share the fame Rewards with them, they should offer to refuse: Whereupon they unanimously listed themselves, and took every Man his Armour. During the time of the Report that the *Enemy* was advanc'd very near them, when indeed there was no fuch thing, Cyrus made it his business to Cyrus inimprove the strength of those that were about structs his him, by keeping them to bodily Exercise; He in the Arts instructed them in Military Arts, animating and of War, exciting them to all the hazards and adventures of War. And first of all, Cyavares having furnish'd him with Purveyors for his Army, He commanded that every one should forthwith be plentifully fupply'd with all things necessary for them. Which provision being made, the Souldiers had now nothing to do, but to exercife themselves in seats of Arms: for, it seems, He

Xenophon's Institution and Book II had perfectly learn'd this Point, that they do in all things approve themselves the most excellent Men, who, forbearing to busic their thoughts about diverse concerns at once, are intent only upon one. Moreover, having debarr'd them the use of Bows and Javelins, He allow'd them no other kind of Exercise, but only to skirmish with Sword, Buckler and Breast-plate; whereby He foon wrought them into an opinion. That they must of necessity close, and come to hand-blows with the Enemy, or elle confess themselves to be of no account, and utterly unworthy to be stild Companions in the War. But to acknowledge this were very hard, because they know they are furnish'd with Necessaries for no other End but to fight for those that supply them therewith. Now when He confidered likewise with Himself, that Men more cheerfully exercise themselves in those points wherein there arifeth Emulation, and Contention for Victory, He

Exercise and Improvement of his Souldiers. Now the particulars He injoyn'd them were these: That a Common Souldier acquit Himself well; be obedient to his Officers: willing to undergo hardship; forward to encounter Danger,

proclaimed Solemn Games amongst them, such

as He knew were very advantagious for the

without disordering the Battel; acquainted with the Arts and Stratagems of War; in his Armour gay and brave; and in all things belonging to a Souldier push't on with Enulation and a Love 1 πενία- of Honour. That the Leader of a Half-File both behave Himself like a good Souldier, and also, as much as in Him lyes, take Care that thole those he commands approve themselves so too: That he that hath the Conduct of a ' whole File ' Derg Oblehave the same regard to those he commands: $\chi \varphi$. That a *Lieutenant* likewise look to his Charge: That the Captain-General also have a special Regard, not only that He himself, but all the chief Officers near him, may acquit themselves with an unreprovable Gallantry, and in like manner keep those under their respective Commands, to

a constant Discharge of their Duty. Now the *Encouragements* he propos'd to them were these: That those Captains, whose Conduct, in the management of their feveral Companies, had been most remarkable, should be advanced to the Office of Majors; that such Lieutenants as had made the greatest Improvement and best Advantage of the Commands they bore, should be promoted to the Dignity of Captains; that they who best manag'd their 2 De- 2 The comcuries should be rais'd to the Honour of Lieute-mand of 10 nants; that they who best behav'd themselves in Souldiers. leading of Five, should be rewarded with the Command of a Decury; and that those Common Souldiers who gave the most notable Proofs of their Bravery and Valour, should be encouraged with the Leading of Five. Now by this means all these Officers and Captains gain'd this main principal Point to be obey'd and revered by those they commanded; and consequently, fuch other Honours and Respects were paid as were due to every Man's Quality and Station. Besides this, he spurr'd on those that were praiseworthy with a fair Prospect of some greater Promotion hereafter. He likewise publickly decreed honou-

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Life of Cyrus the Great. Book II.

honourable Rewards as well to whole Regiments and Companies as to particular Ranks and Files, where he faw them most willing to obey and most

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ready to execute the Commands of their Superiours; which Rewards were really such as best fuited with the Condition of a Multitude. And these are the Particulars of what he himself publish'd and ordain'd, and wherein his Souldiers were train'd up and exercis'd. Tents also he built for them, in number, equal to the several 3 Prefects or Captains in the Army; and for their Extent each of them large enough to entertain a Century: now a Century confifted of an hundred Men; and so every Hundred were lodged in their respective Tents. Now their encamping thus together, must needs, as he conceiv'd, be of great Import and Advantage to him in his Profecution of the ensuing War, in regard they faw the Provisions orderly distributed to every one alike; so that no Man could have any Plea for his Cowardice or Remissings in the Battel, upon pretence of not having an equal Proportion of Allowance with the rest. Besides, He thought their quartering thus together would be highly advantageous, to him by promoting a mutual Acquaintance and Intimacy amongst them: for he was fully perswaded. That if they all knew one another, they would be asham'd; whereas if they were wholly unacquainted, they would, like Men in the dark, be more prone to indulge themselves in Idleness and Sloth. He believ'd likewife, That this kind of cohabiting together in the Camp would very much conduce to the due and regular marshalling of his Army; in regard cvery

every Captain had dispos'd his Regiments in so good order, that he could as eafily march out with an entire Company as lead them forth one by one: After the same method had the Lieutenants manag'd their respective 4 Bands; the De- 4 7803 Nocurions their Tens, and the Captains of five their XES. Fives. Now this exact Regulation of the Army he look'd upon to be a matter of great Moment and Concern, both for the avoiding Confusion and Disorder, and also (in case of any such Missortune) for the more speedy putting themselves in Battalia again: just as we see in Stones and pieces of Timber which are to be compact and coupled togein Building, provided they have some special mark whereby we may but know for what part of the Structure they were design'd; for very easie it is to fit and frame them together, tho they be never so confusedly scatter'd and disperst. The best Advantage he propos'd from their living together in their Tents was this; He concluded they would be very unwilling to defert one another, because he saw even Brute Beasts, seeding in the same Pasture, express a strange desire one for another, if any one did forcibly drive them from their Fellows.

Cyrus had always a special Regard to this, that they should never go to Dinner or Supper unless they had first labour'd till they Sweated again: And for this purpose, He either led them forth to hunt, or else contriv'd such Exercises and Diversions for them, as would effectually cause the fame: or if he were to engage in any Enterprize, he would so lead them on to the Execution of it, that without Sweating they should not come off:

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And this he thought did not only make them eat with a better Appetite and Relish, and kept them in perfect Health, but also did very much conduce to the enabling them to undergo Labour and Travel. Besides, he look'd upon it that

their being Fellow-Labourers together would be a fair opportunity of endearing them each to other; just as it is with Horses, those that have been wrought hard at the fame Drudgery and Toil, stand more quietly and gently together in the same Stall. And undoubtedly, they give the best Proofs of their Bravery against the Enemy,

who are conscious to themselves how well they

have acted in their exercises one with another. Cyrus also erected a Pavilion for himself, fit for the Accommodation and Reception of those that he invited to sup with him. Now, for the most part, he invited of his chief Captains, such as he thought proper and convenient: fometimes he sent for his Lieutenants to his Table; some-5 Dévuezos, times for the 5 Corporals; and sometimes for the Captains over Five. Upon some Occasions like-

wife, he admitted private Souldiers; sometimes

also half a File together; sometimes a whole File;

fometimes an entire Band of Souldiers, and some-

times a whole Regiment. And this kind of Invitation and honouring them thus was usual with him, when he faw any particular Person perform that which he would have recommended to the Army in general: now the Entertainment he provided was always the same for himself and his Guests. He took also special Care that those

Messengers that followed and attended the Camp, Or Sergeants at should in all things share equally with the rest, Arnis.

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in that he look'd upon such Officers to be, in no case, less deserving of Honour and Advancement than Heralds and Ambassadors: for he concluded that they must needs be Men of Fidelity, and Skill in Military Affairs, Understanding, in Business earnest, quick of dispatch, diligent, and undaunted. Over and above all this, Cyrus knew 'twas expedient that these kind Officers should be treated with the same Regard as they that were reputed the best amongst them, and lo to be manag'd that they might refuse nothing that was enjoyn'd them; but that in all things they might make their Prince's Commands the Measure of their Obedience. It was likewise his constant Care, as oft as he

made these publick Entertainments in his Tent, to provide that they might be season'd with such Discourses as would at once create Mirth, and incite to some noble and generous Undertaking. So on a time he occasionally entred upon this kind of Discourse: 'How think you, Countrymen, quoth he, do you esteem others any How Cyrus way our Inferiors, or to fall short of us, because commun'd they have not had the same Advantage of with his Education and Discipline as we have? Or will Captains, there, think you, be no Difference betwixt them and us, neither in our common Converfation, nor when we come to give the Enemy Battel? To him Hystaspes reply'd; How they will behave themselves against the Enemy I don't yet understand: but, I vow to you, in their ordinary Converse one with another, some of them seem, already, very morose and refractory. for, Cyaxares sent lately consecrate Villims

Vittims to every Company, which being distributed, every Man had at least three Dividends of Flesh for his share. The Cook, when he carried about the first Course, began with me: but when he came in with the second, I bad him invert his method, and begin with the last. Whereupon, one of the Souldiers that fat about the middle cry'd out, and faid, In good faith this is by no means fair dealing, if he shall never begin with us that fit here in the midst. Which when I perceiv'd, I was very much disturb'd that they should think they were cozen'd; and immediately call'd the Souldier to me: and therein he as readily obey'd. Now by that time the Messes which were carry'd about came to us, and we, I remember, being to be serv'd last, the Pieces of Meat that were left were very small; whereat he being heartily vex'd, was not able any longer to contain himself, but mutter'd out these Words: What hard Fortune had I to be call'd hither, and speed so much the worse! To whom I reply'd, Come, trouble not your felf, for by and by he will begin with us; then you shall choose with the first, and have the largest Portion. This said, in comes the Cook with the third Courfe, even all that was left undistributed: and here he had his choice

next after me. But when a third had likewise taken, and had, as he thought, met with a larger piece than himself, down again he threw what he had already pitch'd upon, as if he would make a second Choice. But the Cook fupposing the Man had no need of Meat, kept

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on his way, and carried the Mess quite about before he could seize on another piece. Whereupon, he took this Difaster so heinously, because that which he had chosen before was all eaten up, that he overturn'd even

the Sauce that was left, out of a mere Trantport of Vexation and Rage at his ill fortune. Which when the Officer that stood next Us perceived, clapping his hands together, he

burst out into a great Laughter: and I, for my part, was forc'd to counterfeit a Cough, not being able otherwise to forbear laughing out-right. Such a one as this, Cyrus, quoth

he, can I shew you amongst our own Fellows. Whereat, all of them, as well they might, laugh'd heartily. Then flood up another of the Captains, and said; This Gentleman it

feems has light upon a very peevish humoursome Fellow. But when you dismist us with your Instructions for Marshalling an Army, and commanded every one of us what we had learnt of you, to teach the same to our respe-

Ctive Companies, then went I, as the rest did, and exercis'd one Party. When having placed their Leader at the head of them, and next to him a brisk Young-man, and so the

rest in such order as I thought fit, I stood forth and fac'd them; where viewing the whole Band, when I saw my own time, I command- A notable

ed them to march forward: Presently my Instance of Young man stepping forth, march'd in the Military Van before his Leader. Which, when I per-Discipline.

ceiv'd, You, Sir, what do you mean, faid I? To march on, replied he, as you command-

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Xenophon's Institution and Book II.

c ed. But my Commands, quoth I, were not to , you only, but to all the rest. Upon these Words, turning him about to the Company, What, hear you not, faith he, how our Capc tain commands us all to advance forward? ' Hereupon the whole Band moving on, march'd before their Leader, and came up to Me. And

Or Leader, when their Officer commanded them back again, they began to be discontented, and to murmur, faying; Whether of these two must we obey? for here one commands us, and the

other forbids us, to march forward. All this I patiently bore with, and replacing every one in his proper Order, I gave them in charge, That not a Man of those that came behind

flould frir a foot till he before him began to move; but that they should all have a special regard to this, That every Man follow his Leader. Now so it was, that one going for Persia.

came to wait upon me for my Letter which I had wrote to my Friends; wherefore, I wish'd the Officer (for he knew where the Letter lay)

to run and fetch it: He did accordingly: when immediately the aforefaid Young man guarded, as he was, with a Breaft-Plate, and a Halbert in his hand, followed his Leader;

which the rest of the Company perceiving, all ran after, so that the whole Band of Souldiers came and brought me my Letter. Thus you

fee, quoth he, how perfectly my Party have ' learnt all that you enjoyn'd me to teach them. Hercupon some indeed laughed exceedingly,

that a Letter should be guarded with such a Military Convoy as this: But Cyrus, O Heavens, quoth

Book II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

quoth he, What brave Men have we for our Affociates! so easie to be obliged, that a small piece of Meat shall ingage many of them to be

your Friends; so ready to obey, that their Performance shall even prevent your Com-

mands: so that for my part I cannot imagine what manner of Men I should rather wish for

than such as I already have. Thus did Cyrus

at once both laugh at the Discourse, and com-

e mend the Souldiers.

It fortun'd that there was at this time in his Tent one of his Captains named Aglaitadas, a Man of a rough unpleasing Temper, who began after this manner: "Do you suppose it, Cyrus, to be Truth what these Men tell you? Why, reply'd Cyrus, what can they propole to themselves by framing Lies? What think you, quoth he, but that they have a mind to create Laughter, for which Reason they tell you these Stories, and proudly boast themselves in so doing. Nay, fost and fair, answered Cyrus, don't c look upon them as 2 Braggadocio's, for that 2 d Au Covas 'Name, I take it, is appropriate only to those who pretend they are really more wealthy, or more courageous than in truth they are, or make Protestations of their performing that which they are not able to affect; and that too. when it evidently appears that they do it upon the account of some by-end or private Advantage. But they that go about to move the Company to Laughter, not out of any Principle of Profit to themselves, nor prejudice to the 'Hearers, nor with a defign of doing any the

'least Injury, why should they not be stil'd (as

in Justice they ought) merry-conceited facetious Drolls rather than proud Boasters? And thus did Cyrus plead for, and excuse those that caused Merriment and Laughter. Then stood up an Officer, the same that had told the pleafant Story of his Party of Souldiers, and said, I suppose, Aglaitadas, had we applyed our selves to cause you to weep, (as some there are who in their Songs and Orations by deviling lamentable doleful Tales endeavour to force * Tears from us) you would have reproved us very feverely, feeing you treat us with fuch ^c Contumely and Reproach, notwithstanding you your felf know very well, that 'tis our de-'fire only to make you merry, and not to injure or affront you in the least: Yes, upon "my Life, should I, quoth Aglaitadas, and that very justly too. For I look upon him that causes his Friends to sit down and lament, to deferve incomparably better of them than one that moves them to Mirth and Laughter. And even you, if you examine the matter rightly, will find that I speak Truth. For 'tis by ma-6 king them weep that Parents teach their Children Modesty, that Masters instruct their Scho-'lars in Arts and Sciences: and the Laws, so clong as they constrain Subjects to sit down and weep, so long do they oblige them to live just-' ly and honestly. But for those that provoke to Laughter, wherein can you affirm that they either advantage the Body, or so improve the Mind as to make it more fit for the Administration of Affairs, whether private or publick? To him Hystaspes spake after this manner; Come, Aglai· Aglaitadas, if you will be rul'd by me, you fhall boldly and bravely bestow this upon your Enemies which you value at so high a rate, and do your Endeavour to make them fit down and bemoan themselves; but upon us that are your Friends, by any means, expend fomething of that you fet so lightly by, your Laughter: For I know you cannot but have a great Reserve of it in store, in regard you your self have never used it lavishly or profusely, nor 'do you, by your good Will, allow either Friends or Strangers to partake of it. So that you can have no pretence in the World why you should not afford us a little Laughter. To 'whom Aglaitadas reply'd; And do you, Hystafpes, intend to force a Laugh from me? No said the above-mention'd Officer, I swear, he were a Fool if he did; for I believe one may sooner ftrike Fire out of you than move you to Laughter. Hereupon the rest of the Company, being acquainted with the Humour and Temper of the Man, laughed out-right; and Aglaitadas 6 himself offer'd at a Smile: when Cyrus, seeing 'him somewhat dispos'd to be pleasant, Sir, said he, to the aforesaid Officer, you do not do as 6 becomes you, thus to impole upon any lober grave Man, to constrain him in a manner to flaugh, especially one that is so protess'd an Enemy to all kind of Laughter. And here concluded this kind of Discourse: when, Chryfantas stood forth, and spake after this manner.

Cyrus, and All ye the rest that are here pre- Advice afent, I suppose there are come with us in this bout dispo-Expedition, Persons, some of greater and some sing of Re-

Chryfantas's of wards.

of lesser worth: Now if our Enterprize be attended with Success, they will all expect to be rewarded alike. But for my part I think nothing in the whole World can be more unreasonable and absur'd than that Cowardise and c Valour should go hand in hand in the Distribubution of Rewards. Hereunto Cyrus reply'd, "Tis therefore most requisite, Sirs, that this be propos'd as matter of Debate to the Army; Whether (if God crown our Actions with Succefs) we should make all Fellow-sharers alike, or dispose of Honours and Rewards in Proportion to every Mans particular Deferts. And what need is there, answer'd Chrysantas, to f propound this to the Army, and not rather so-'lemnly declare that your Pleasure is so? For ' have not you already proclaim'd Publick Games and appointed Prizes for the Victors? 'Tis confess'd, quoth Cyrus; but in good Truth, that's nothing to this Purpose. For whatsoever they get in the Progress of this War, that I supopole they will look upon as common to them all: the Conduct perhaps and Command of the Army they may allow to belong to me by right of Deputation from the State. And therefore I believe they will not think me to be Arbitrary or Unjust if I take upon me to constitute Officers over them. Think you then, quoth Chryfantas, that the whole Multitude being affembled together will come to any such Resolution as this, That every Man shall not share alike; but that in the Disposal of Honours and Rewards, * Consideration shall especially be had of the best? In earnest, for my Part, answered Cyrus, I am

of that Opinion, both because, I suppose, you will acquiesce in what I say; and also 'tis very 's scandalous and base for any one to offer to oppose this. That he ought to be most honourably rewarded, who behaves himself with the 'greatest Bravery and Courage, and does his 'Country the best Service. And I verily believe 'it will animate even Cowardise it self to see Va-' lour honour'd and preferr'd. Cyrus was very The admiwilling that fuch a Decree should pass upon the rable Wisaccount, and for the sake of the Nobility; for he dom of Cytook it for granted, that they would shew themfelves more valorous according as they faw themselves rewarded in proportion to the Services they did. He thought it therefore very feasonable at this time to determine the Point by Votes and Suffrages, when the Nobility began to repine at, and dread this levelling kind of Equality. Wherefore, by the unanimous Confent of those that were met together in Cyrus's Pavilion, it was thought good to put the Matter to the Vote, that every one who would be reputed a Man indeed, should countenance and further it.

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Hereat one of the Captains smiling, said, 'I know a certain Fellow, a Common-Souldier, who will readily give his Assent that this unadvised Equality shall never pass. Another ask'd him who he meant; I mean, quoth he, a certain Tent-Fellow of mine, who presses upon all Occasions to share more than the rest. What, faid the other, in Labour too? Nay, hold there, reply'd he, not a Word of that; there I consess you have caught me: for in Labour and

Xenophon's Institution and Book II.

An excellent Difcourse of Cyrus.

Toil, or any thing of that Nature, he will give any one, that will, free leave to take a greater share than himself. But, Sirs, quoth Cyrus, my Resolution is, that such Fellows, as he now speaks of, ought to be cashier'd, and expell'd the Camp, if we intend to have a flout, valiant, and faithful Army. For I look upon the Generality of Souldiers to be naturally disposid to follow what way foever any one leads them. 'Now I believe Men of Gallantry and Courage are zealous to excite others to noble and brave Exploits; whereas bad Men make it their Bufinels to betray them into Villany and Folly. And indeed it often falls out, that Men of base corrupt Principles bring more over to their Copinion and Party than those that are truly evertuous and good. For Vice coming recommended with present Pleasures, does by their Allurements induce many to comply with and combrace it: but Virtue aiming only at Heights and Difficulties, is not powerful and attractive enough to draw us readily to her, especially when others invite us the clean contrary way, to our beloved Ease and Pleasure. So that if there be any who contract a vicious Habit merec ly by a fluggish stupid Disposition, such I esteem as Drones, expensive only, and burthensome to their Fellows: but where they are backward to engage in common Duty and Service, yet shameless and eager in pursuit of their own e private Advantage, they are likely to be Ring-Leaders to Mischief and Vice; because they are many times able to evidence to the World, that their Villany has been

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been crown'd with Profit and Success. Wherefore fuch as these ought by all means to be discharg'd. Nor need you be hereupon sol-'licitous how to recruit your broken Forces with Country men of your own, but, as in Horses, you don't confine your self to those of your own breed, but make choice of such as are best: even so in Men of all others, choose especially such as you think most able to do 'you the best Service and Honour. Now that this kind of proceeding will turn to our good 'I am abundantly satisfied, because neither can a Chariot be swift which is drawn by flow Hor-'s fes; nor a Family well govern'd where disso-'lute Servants are employ'd. Nay, less prejudi-'cial were it to have no Servants at all, than to be molested with those that are vitious and ' false. Besides, assure your selves of this, my Friends, quoth he, that by this purging of ill 6 Men out of the Army, we shall not only gain 'this great point that we shall be fairly quit of them; but also as many of those that are lest behind, as Vice has already seiz'd on and in-' fected, will again be purged of the fame: and those also that are good and faithful when they ' see base Villanies slighted and disgrac'd; will with more chearfull Resolution embrace Vertue. And this was the Effect of Cyrus's Discourse, All which his Friends unanimously approved

of, and did accordingly. Then Cyrus began to be pleasant again, and perceiving that one of his Officers had brought a Guest with him to Supper, and had made him fit down by him very hairy and ugly as he was,

calling

calling the Officer by his Name, he faid unto him: 'What Sambulas, and do you too follow 'the Greek Fashion, and carry about that delicate Youth that fits next to you, for his Beauty 'Yes, quoth Sambulas, as I live, I take great e Pleasure both in his Converse and Countenance, which when the rest of the Company heard, they all turned about, and viewing well the Young Man's extraordinary deformity, 'laught out right. And one among the rest, Now, for Heavens lake, Sambulas, quoth he, 'prithee tell me, how this Fellow has thus ingratiated himself with thee? I will tell you, quoth he, Friends, the very Truth; How oft foever I have called upon Him either by Night or by Day, He never pretended Business to excuse himself, nor does he go about his work clazily, but always with Vigour and Dispatch. 'Nor did I ever see him go about any thing 6 I commanded him, but he wrought at it till he 's sweat again. Besides, he has made twelve others really fuch as himself, demonstrating to them onot by Word, but by Fast, how they ought to behave and acquit themselves. Upon this, says one, feeing He is fuch a Person as you speak of, how can you forbear to greet and kiss him as one of your Kinsmen? To whom the ill-look'd 'Fellow himself reply'd, He does not do that because he hates taking Pains; for if he should offer to kiss me, it would excuse him sufficiently from all other Exercises. Such kind of Story's as these partly jocular, and partly serious, were 'discoursed of and debated in the Tent. At last " having offer'd Sacrifice a third time, and be-

feeching

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feeching the Gods to bless them with Vistory and Success, the Company brake up, and betook themselves all to their Rest. The day sollowing Cyrus, in a full Assembly of his whole Army,

spake to this Effect. Country-men and Friends, the Battel now Cyrus Oraapproaches; our *Enemies* are at hand. If V_{i-} tion to the the story attend us, the Enemy, and all they pof- camp. fels, will be certainly ours: if we are vanquished (and we must ever suppose the worst) all that we are Masters of, will, as their Reward, fall into the hands of the Conquerors. This therefore you must know, that where Men, concerned in the same common Engagements of "War, make this Resolution to themselves, that 'nothing can succeed well, unless every particuflar Perlon heartily espouse the Cause, there, in a short time, they are able to perform great and glorious Exploits; and that upon this Account, that no Man, out of a flothful Negligence forgets to discharge his Duty. But when every one shall think that others will bear the Burthen of the Day, and encounter the Dangers of the War, tho they indulge themselves in Sostness and Ease, then you may affure your selves of this, that all such Persons are subject to all manner of Calamity and Distress. And Providence it felt feems in some fort so to order it, that they that will not impose it as a Task upon themselves to labour and contend in an hoonourable way, shall be fure to have Task-masters fet over them to command them. Now therefore let some one amongst you stand forth, and fpeak to this Point, Whether he thinks we shall

be induc'd rather to acquit our selves valiantly

'like Men, because he that performs best, and exposes himself to the greatest Hazards, shall

'likewise have the greatest share of Honour and

Reward; or because it makes no Difference whether we come off like Cowards or not, in-

regard the Spoil shall be equally divided among ' All. Then stood up Chryfantas, one of the No-

The Oration of

bility, neither for Stature big, nor to the view ftrong, but a Man of admirable Wisdom, who thus began. 'I suppose, Cyrus, quoth he, you did not propole this Question to us, as if it were your Chrysantas. Opinion that Cowardise and Valour ought to be had in equal Esteem; but to prove whether there be any Man here that will declare in behalf of him, who (tho he himself perform no-'thing honourable and praise-worthy) expects 'nevertheless to carry off an equal Portion of all that Honour which others by their Valour have acquir'd. I, for my part, neither excell in the strength of my Arm, nor the swiftness of my Feet: and I am abundantly convinced, that for what I shall atchieve in my own Perfon, I shall neither merit the first, nor the second, nay, I believe not the thousandth, perbaps not the ten thousandth Place. Notwithflanding, this I am fure of, that if the brave Men amongst us vigorously prosecute the Busie ness of the War, I my self shall have such a fhare in their Conquests as in Equity and Justice 'I ought to have: but if the lazy Refuse of the 6 Army shall do nothing at all, and our stout and valiant Men be crest-fall'n and disheart'ned, Book II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

'I am afraid I shall partake, and that in a far greater measure than I desire, of something else 'rather than of what is honourable and good. When Chryfantas had thus spoke, Pheraulas, one of the Commons of Persia, who upon the Account of their domestick Converse, was familiar with. and belov'd of Cyrus. A Man of no ungraceful Meen, nor of a Humour any way unbefeeming a

Gentleman. And he began to this Effect:

'I believe, O Cyrus, and all ye Persians here The Crapresent, that we do all with equal Earnestness tion of and Contention strive for Honour; because I per- Pheraulas. ceive we generally accustom our Bodies to the fame fort of Dyet, we use the same mutual Society and Converse, and have all the same ho-

nourable Advantages set before us. For to obey

our Superiours is a Duty alike incumbent upon

all; and he that does it most frankly and open-'ly, him, I observe, Cyrus always treats with Honour and Respect. In like manner, to give fignal Proof of our Courage against the Enemy, is not commendable in one, and not so in ano-

ther, but confessedly acknowledg'd to be equal-'ly laudable in All. We are now in prospect

of a Battel; and how every Man should behave himself therein, Nature, I perceive, has sufficiently instructed us: just as we see in other

Creatures; they have all learnt some way of Fighting or other, and that from no other

Principle but the mere Distates and Instinst of

Nature. For instance, the Bull fights with his

"Horns; the Horse with his Hoof; the Dog with 6 his Mouth; and the Boar with his Tusk; and all

6 these Creatures are naturally prompted to avoid

that of which they ought especially to beware, without coming under the Discipline of any 'Teacher. And I remember, even from a "Child, I knew how presently to desend and guard my felt from him that I thought had a Defign to strike me; for, if I had no other "Weapon, as well as I could, I put by, and refifted his Stroke with my Hands: and this Idid onot only without any Body's Suggestion, but 'even when I was fure to be punished and scour-'ged for the same. Indeed, when I was yet but a meer *Child*, I would, without any more ado, fnatch up a Sword wherever I saw it, not having learn'd of any one so much as how to take hold of it, but only, as I conceive, by the meer Guidance of Nature. Nay, I was so far from being taught by any, that I was expresly forbidden; as there are other things which Nature did, in some sort, force me to do, in direct Opposition to the Commands of my Parents. And if I could finite any thing un-'discovered with my Sword, I was sure to do it. For it was not only as natural to me, as it is to walk or to run; but over and above that, I found, methoughts, a certain Complacency to my self in so doing. In regard therefore that here is a Buttel at hand, wherein cheerful Courage is like to succeed better than Art and Stratagem; why should not we, out of a generous Emulation, strive and contend with these ' Peers; seeing the Rewards of Valour are on either hand the same; but we don't both run 'cgual Hazards: For they expose an honourable Life, which is the only, the most desirable;

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but we, a toilsome, inglorious Life, which I 'look upon to be, of all others, the most irksom and uneasie. But above all, my Fellow-Soul-'diers, that which chiefly animates and excites 'me briskly to undertake this Contest with the "Peers, is, because we shall have Cyrus for our ' Judge, whose impartial Sentence no Prejudice 'can fway; who I believe (and I dare call Hea-"ven to witness it) loves those that he sees behave themselves valiantly, no less than he does ' himself. For I observe, He takes more Pleafure in bestowing what he has among fuch, than in keeping it to himself. 'Tis true indeed, I know they value themselves much upon this 'Account, That their Education has prepared them to endure Hunger, and Thirst, and Cold; on not confidering rightly in the mean time, that 'all this we have throughly learn'd, and that e under the Institution of a better Teacher than they. For in things of this Nature there can be no fuch Discipline as that of Necessity, which has taught us to be very accurate and exact therein. They have been us'd to exercise them-'felves in bearing Arms, which all Men have so contriv'd, that they might be most light and portable: but for us, We have been compell'd ont only to Go, but to Run, and that under the Pressure of heavy Loads; so that now the weight of my Armour feems to me rather like Wings than a Burden. Know therefore, O Cyrus, that I will do my utmost Endeavour, and be my Condition what it will, according to omy Merit and Desert so shall I expect to be rewarded. As for you my Friends and Fellow-H 3ComΥρρα,

made of

Twigs.

' Commoners, I exhort you vigorously and resoclutely to maintain this Conflict with these well

^c disciplin'd and experienc'd Gentlemen. For, indeed, these Men are now over-match'd in this

r Popular Contention.

So spake Pheraulas. Many others there were who rose up, and declar'd their Approbation both of the one Opinion and the other. So it was refolved, that every ones Reward ought to bear Proportion to his Worth; and Cyrus to be the Judge of the Merits of the Cause. And thus proceeded these Matters.

Cyrus also on a time invited to Supper with him a Captain and his whole Company; because he had seen him divide his Souldiers into two Parties, and set them in Battel Array one against another; both Divisions being arm'd with Breast-

Plates, and light ' Targets in their Lest-hands: in their Right-hands he gave to one half good

flout Truncheons; the other half he commanded to take up Chods, and therewith to pelt their Adverfaries. Now when they all stood thus ready arm'd, he gave the Signal for the Skirmish. Then

one Party threw their Clods, and hit some of them on the Breast-Plates, some on the Targets, fome on the Thighs, and some on the Legs. But

when they came to it hand to hand, they that were arm'd with Truncheons smote their Adverfaries, some of them Hip and Thigh, some on

the Hands, and some of them that stoop'd down to take up Clods, on the Neck and Shoulders. At last the Battoon bearers put the others to flight,

and fmote them, and chas'd them, with much

Sport and Laughter. In like manner, when their

heir turn came, the other took the Truncheons, and dealt just after the same rate with those that threw Clods against them. Cyrus greatly admired this notable Invention of the Captain, and commended the Obedience of the Souldiers, who

did at once both Exercise and recreate themselves; and withall observing that they that

imitated the Persian way of Arming themselves,

always came off with Vittory, he was mightily pleased therewith, and invited the Combatants to Supper. Now when in his Pavilion he espy'd

some with their Legs bound up, and some their Arms, he ask'd them, what they ailed? They

answered, They had been bruised with Clods. He then put the Question surther to them, whe-

ther they were hurt when they came to close, or when they fought at a distance? The Truncheon- Naponicoers reply'd, When they skirmish'd at a distance. voes.

For faid they, when we came to it hand to hand, we had very pleasant Sport on't. Then they that had been forely maul'd with the Truncheons cry'd out, That they did not think it such fine

Pastime to be bastinado'd at that rate when they came to close fighting; and withall shewed in

their Arms and Necks, nay, and some of them

in their Faces too, the very Prints and Scrokes of the Batoons. This done, as well they might,

they laugh'd at, and derided one another. The next day all the whole Field was throng'd with

Men, who came to practife this way of Combating: and whenever they were not taken up with

Business of greater moment, they constantly

us'd this kind of Exercise and Recreation. Another time he saw a Captain leading his Company

from

³ देतारे गरे Aeisov, not deiseflom stayle Dies by it.

from the River one by one to 3 Dinner, who, when he saw his time, commanded the Rereband to pass by the third and fourth Ward, and march up into the Fore front. Now when they stood all in the Van-guard, he commanded

them to double their Files, and lead them out by Leaders of two and two. Then the Decurions, with their

Files, advanced into the Front: Where he, when he thought convenient, commanded them again to re-double their Files, and lead them on by four and four. Then came on in order the Captains of five, yet so that they also might march by four and four. Now when he was come to his Tent door, he gave the Word that they should again march one by one; so he led in his Van-guard, and commanded the next to follow them in the Rere; and giving the same Charge to the third and the fourth, he led them all into his Pavilion, where he made them six down to meat in the same order they came in. Cyrus mightily admir'd the Man, as well for the Mildness of his Temper, as for his Discipline and his Industry; and therefore solemnly invited Him and his whole Company to Supper.

Now it fortun'd, that at the same time there was another Captain invited to Supper, who thus bespake Cyrus: "Why don't you invite er my Company to your Tent? for when they cc are here at Supper they do the very same thing "that these do. And when the Entertainment in your Pavilion is at an end, the Leader of the last File brings out the Rere-ward, and in the first place sets them in Battel Array. Then follows the Leader of the second Band; and so in orBook II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

der the third and the fourth: that so when they are to make good a Retreat, they may know in what Order they ought to do it. Now when we come into a Plain where we use to have a running March, if it be toward the Sun-rifing, I lead the Van, and the foremost Band takes place first. after that the second, and so in Course the third and the fourth; then follow the leffer Bands of Ten, and of Five, so long as I give the Word of Command. But if we march toward the Sunfetting, then the Rere-ward and the Officer that leads it, begin to march off first; and they do nevertheless obey me though I come hindmost of all? that so they may with equal Obedience accustom themselves both to lead and to follow. And do you, quoth Cyrus, use always to do thus? Yes, I assure you, reply'd he, as constantly and duely as we go to our Meals. I invite you therefore, answer'd Cyrus, partly because you carefully practife to keep good Order both in your Approaches and Retreats, whether by Night or by Day; and partly because you exercise your Bodies by moving up and down, and also improve your Understandings by Experience and Practice. cyrus wir-So that in regard you perform a double Duty in tily encouevery Thing, its but reasonable that you should rageth his Souldiers. be treated with a double Repast. Not in one day, for Heavens sake, quoth the Captain, unless you will supply us with double Bellies too. And thus

ended this Entertainment in the Tent. The next day, as also the Day following, Cyrus invited this Company to his Pavilion: which when the other Regiments understood, they all ever after

imitated them.

der

Now

Now Cyrus held a general Rendezvous of all his Forces in their Arms, and was mustering them in order for Battel; when Cyaxares, by an Ex-

Xenophon's Institution and Book II

An Embas, press, advertis'd him of an Embassy arrived from fy from In- India, and withall fignified his Pleasure, That he should immediately repair unto him. The Messenger likewise told him, That he had brought him, from Cyaxares, a very noble Robe of State: for, quoth he, his Desire is, that you should appear with all Magnificence and Splendour imaginable, because the Indians will see how you make your Entry. Cyrus having receiv'd this Message, he gave order to the principal Officer that led the Van-guard, that he should draw out his Company one by one, and place himself in the Front. He commanded him likewife to give the fame Charge to the next, and so on, that it might pass through the whole Army. In obedience to his Commands, they immediately gave the Charge, and All as readily perform'd it: so that in a very short time, Rather, as there were two Hundred in the Fore-front (for fo

Leunclavius obferves, it

Mould be 300, which should lead them; and presently he began to

by 100 makes compleativ 30000.

multiply'd march at a very great rate. But when he understood that the way leading to the Palace-Royal was too narrow for them to march thus all afront, he gave Command that the first Thousand should follow him in the same Order they were placed, and that the next Thousand should close with their Rere-ward and follow them; and the same Method to be observ'd through-

many principal Captains he had) and the Files

were each of them an hundred-deep. In this

Order he commanded them to follow, as he

throughout the whole Army. Thus he led them on without any stop, and one Thousand still orderly succeeded and followed another. He dilpatch'd likewise before him two of his Attendants, to make Proof of the straightness of the Way, that so if any one were at a loss therein, they might of them be informed what they ought to do. Now when they were come to Cyaxares his Palace-Gates, he commanded the Captain of the first Band so to order his Files that they might stand twelve deep, and to place the File-Leaders afront before the Palace. He commanded that the same Charge should be given to the second Captain, and so on throughout the Army. And all this they accordingly perform'd.

Cyrus came into Cyaxares's Presence in a plain Persian Robe, whom when Cyaxares saw, being well pleased that he had repair'd to him with fuch Celerity and Dispatch, but disturb'd at the Meannels of his Garment, he thus belpake him: What mean you, Cyrus, to appear thus in such 'a Garb before the Indian Embassy ? My De-' fire was, that you should have made your Entry in a most splendid manner; for it would have been much for my Reputation and Ho-' nour, that my Nephew should have appear'd in 'all Magnificence and Royalty. To this Cyrus reply'd, Whether should I have done you more Honour by deferring and flighting the

Execution of your Commands, that so I might have come before you, array'd in Purple,

adorn'd with Bracelets, and bedeck'd with 6 Chains; or rather (as I have now done) by ex-

prefling

that

Cyaxares gives Audience to an Indian

Embafly.

' pressing my Obedience and Diligence in leading hither so great and gallant an Army, and all to maintain your Grandeur and Honour? I come adorn'd, you see, with Sweat and Labour, that I may make you glorious by teaching others to obey you. When Cyrus had thus spoke, Cyaxares approv'd well of what he faid, and commanded that the Indian Ambassadours should be introduc'd. Who, when they were admitted to Audience, declar'd, that they were fent by the King of India with Instructions to demand the Reasons and Grounds of the War betwixt the Medes and Assyrians; and that when they had receiv'd his Answer, they vvere further impover'd to go likevvise and demand the fame of the King of Asyria: and upon the whole matter to let each of you understand, that the Indian King was resolved, out of a due regard to Justice and Equity, to joyn with and affiist the injur'd Party. To this Embassy Cyaxares 'answer'd; Hear therefore what I shall declare: "We have been no ways injurious to the Affy-'rian King. Go on therefore in your vvay to ' him, and learn vyhat his Declaration is in this Point. Cyrus also being present, crav'd leave of Cyaxares to impart his Thoughts to them: which being granted, he thus bespake them: 'To the King of India, (Your Master) if Cya-" xares please, make this Report: That if the 'King of Assyria pretend he has been any ways 'injur'd by Us, We declare 'tis our Resolution, to refer to the King of India the Arbitration of the Matter. Their Audience thus ended, they departed; whereupon Cyrus began to address himself to Cyaxares in this manner.

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book II.

'I came from Home furnish'd with no great ftore of Treasure of my own; and of what I had 'I have very little left, having expended most of it upon my Souldiers; which perhaps you 'may wonder at in regard 'tis You that Victual Cyrus conand provide for the Army. But affure your felt, fers with I have employ'd it no otherwise than in re-about raiwarding and gratifying such of them as have sing Modeserv'd my Admiration and Esteem. For I am ney. clearly of Opinion, that for all fuch whose 'Affistance we desire in any Concern whatso-'ever, 'tis much more easie and pleasant to win and ingage them to us by good Words and kind 'Ireatment, than to fright them into their Duty by Rigour and Compulsion. And especially in Cales of War, he that would have his Souldiers cheerfully and heartily espouse his Cause, ' must be sure to gain upon them by all manener of indearing and gracious Expressions; for they must be Friends and not Foes, that will fland and fall with, and (without any little pretences for Excuse) follow the Fortune of their General, neither repining at his Successes, nor murmuring at his Misfortunes: Thele things confider'd, I conceive it necessary that I have 'Treasure at Command. But to expect a Supply of every thing from you, especially when I know what extraordinary Charges you are at, I look upon it to be very prepofterous and abfurd. Therefore I think You and I ought joynt-' ly to consult the common Interest that you may not be destitute of Money. For this I am assu-' red of, if you abound, I shall not want when 'I have occasion; especially if I receive it with

Cyaxares and Cyrus confult about the reducing the King of Armenia.

that Intent, that the expending thereof may redound the more to your Honour and Advantage. Sir, I remember I lately heard you fay, That the Armenian King does at this Juntture despile you, because he is advertised our Enemics are coming against Us, so that he will neither affift you with an Army, nor fend the 'Tribute he stands obliged to pay. This is the 'Case, Cyrus, quoth he, and thus he treats me; ' fo that I am at a Stand whether I should make War upon him, and by force of Arms endea-'vour to bring him to Reason; or whether, as Affairs now are, it were not better for me to take no notice of him, left thereby I should oblige him also to joyn with, and increase the 'Number of our Enemies. Cyrus then proceed-'ed to enquire, Are the Towns of Armenia fituate in strong defensible Places, or not? Why 'truly, reply'd Cyaxares, they are not very 's strongly fortified; for I have been particularly curious in that Point. But Mountains there are, whither, if the Armenian King retire, he may so secure himself, and whatsoever he re-'moves thither, that he need not fall quickly 'into the Enemy's Hand, unless he will sit down to beleaguer and streighten him with a standing Camp, as my Father has sometimes done. 6 Here Cyrus went on, and faid: If therefore, you think fit to fend me with a convenient Number of Horse, I doubt not but, with the Gods 6 Assistance, to compell him to aid you with an ⁵ Army, and oblige him to pay the Tribute due to you. Nay, and after all this, I make no ' Question but he shall hold a stricter Friendship with

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book II.

with you than at present he does. And I am e perswaded, quoth Cyaxares, the Armenian will much rather come in, and joyn with You, than with Us. For, I have been informed, that some of that King's Children have been your Companions in Hunting, and they may probably 's strike in with you again. Now if you can but get any of them into your Hands, we can't ' fail of effecting what we our selves desire. But what think you, faith Cyrus, is it not expedient that this Design of ours should be carried on with Secrefic and Concealment? By all means, reply'd Cyaxares, for so we may with less difficulty trepan some of them; and if we should ' in an hostile manner set upon them, they will be less provided against such a Surprise. Hear 'me then, quoth Cyrus, whether what I shall ' fay be to the purpose or no. I, and all my 'Train of Persians that attended me, have often 'hunted about the Confines of Media and Ar-"menia, and that many times I have been fol-' lowed with a Troop of Horse-men, my Friends and Familiars from hence. You may there-' fore, reply'd Cyaxares, make the fame Attempt now without incurring the least Suspicion: But if you lead out confiderably more Forces now than did usually follow you to Hunting, this will make them jealous of your Design. But we e may, quoth Cyrus, even in that Case, frame a very specious Pretence; as suppose some one 's spread a Report there, that I intend a great and folemn Hunting, and for that end have openly requested you to furnish me with Horsemen. I approve well of what you fay, groth

quoth Cyaxares, and indeed those I shall fur-'nish you with will be but very few, because I "my felf will make shew, as if I intended to visit my Frontier Garrisons upon the Borders of Asfyria, which I do verily purpole to do, and to make them flrong and fit for Service. Now 6 so soon as you are advanced to the Confines with what Forces you have, and have spent fome two days in Hunting, I will fend you of the Forces I have levyed a sufficient Recruit both of Cavalry and Infantry, with whom (as foon as they have joyn'd you) you may im-

' mediately march on further into the Country: and I, with the Remainder of my Army, will endeavour to keep at such a distance, that " whenever Occasion serves, I may come in to

⁵ your Relief.

Hereupon Cyaxares presently drew together a Body of Horse and Foot for the Service of his Garrisons; and withall, fent Wagons laden with Provisions the very direct way leading thereunto. But cyrus, in order to his March, did

Sacrifice to the Gods; and at the same time sent to Cyaxares to request of him his younger Horsemen: He, tho great Numbers of them readily

offer'd him their Service, yet sent him but a few. Now as cyaxares was marching at the Head of his Forces to visit his Cassles, cyrus by Sacrifice

had an auspicious Presage of a fortunate Extedition against the King of Armenia: whereupon, der colour out he leads his Men, as one prepared only to of Hunting hunt. No sooner was he entred the first Field,

invades the but up starts a Hare; when an Eagle, coming from a luckey Quarter, and perceiving her Flight, Book II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

made at her, beat her down, seiz'd her, and so took Wing again; and carrying the captive Prey to the top of a neighbouring Hill, she us'd it as she pleased. Cyrus liked this Omen well, and rejoycing for the same, he pay'd his devout Acknowledgments to King Jupiter, and withall, told those that were present; My Friends, quoth he, by the Favour of Heaven, this will prove

a fortunate Hunting to us. Now when they were come to the Frontiers, as his usual manner was, he began his Sport. When the ordinary fort, as well Horse as Foot, rushing forth, beat

up and down, to rouse their Game; but for the more choice Men, they stood distributed here and there, that they might be in a readiness to receive and pursue the wild Beasts, many where-

of they took, as wild Boars, Goats, Stags, and

Asses: for there are in those Parts good store of wild Asses even at this day. Now when they had concluded that days Sport, Cyrus entring the Marches of Armenia, sat down and supped there; and the next day renewing his Game

again, he made his Approaches to those Mountains where he long'd to be; which done, and his Hunting ended, to Supper he fat down again. But so soon as he discover'd Cyaxares

his Army marching towards him, he sent private Dispatches to them, that they should sup fome eight miles distance from him; for he of Avio foresaw this would very much conduce to con-

ceal his Approaches from the Enemy. He like- 6dyyas. wise fignified his Pleasure, that after Supper the chief Captain should repair unto him. So when

Supper was ended, he commanded the Officers

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Xenophon's Institution and Book II.

of the Army to appear before him, and when they were affembled, bespake them after this manner:

Cyrus's Oration.

'Heretofore, my Friends, the King of Armenia was in Confederacy with, and also tributary to Cyaxares. But now, understanding that " we are invaded by our *Enemies*, he despises m, 'neither does he fend us any Supply either of 'Men or Money. He therefore is now to be our Game; Him we are to Hunt out if we can. In order to which, I think, we must thus proceed: You, Chryfantas, after you have somewhat refresh'd your self with Sleep, shall take with you one half of the Persians that are here, and entering the mountainous part of the Country, make your self Master of those Hills, whither, 'tis reported, He uses to fly when he is apprehensive of Danger. Guides I will give you to direct you: and, they fay, those Mountains are so thick and wooddy, that I hope there is 'no fear of your being discovered. However, 'if you fend out some before the Army, that 'may both for their Number and their Garb resemble Robbers, nimble active Men; look what Armenians they meet with, if they can take them Prisoners, they will be fure to prevent their giving Intelligence; but if they let them escape their Hands, they will force and drive them so far off, that they shall not posfibly have a fight of the main Body of the Ar-'my, nor defign any thing more against you than what they would against common Roe vers. And this, quoth he, Chryfantas, shall be your Charge: I, for my part, with the remaining

Book II. Life of Cyrus the Great.

'maining half of the Foot, and all the Horse, 'will, by break of day, march the direct and plain Road to the Palace Royal; where, if we 'find any Oppolition, we shall of necessity be 'obliged to fight; but if he quit the plain Field, 'then we must undoubtedly pursue him. Now 'if we fly to the Mountains, there it will especi-'ally be your business to suffer none to escape that fall into your Hands. For, you must ima-'gine this to be a kind of Hunting-match; and 'look upon us as those that are to find out and ' rouse the Game whilst you your self attend the Toiles. Be fure therefore, that all the Avenues 'and Passes be stopt before your Chase begin. 'And they that are appointed to manage this 'Concern, must take care to lye close under Covert, lest, as their Game makes up towards them, they startle it, and turn it back again. But for you, Chryfantas, you must not think to do now, what out of your extream Love to 'Hunting, at other times you have been us'd to 'do. For you have often spent the whole Night without Sleep: but now you must allow your vareepa-'Men to take some moderate Repose, that they xãu. * may be able to encounter Sleep, and repell it: Neither must you attempt now to pass difficult and uncouth places, because heretofore you have been us'd to travel over Mountains and Craggs, even without a Guide, that you might be fure to follow your Game closely, which way soever it went; but you must command your Guides to lead you the easiest and most passable, if there be not another far shorter and more expeditious way. For to all Army,

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the casier their Way is, the quicker their Dispatch. Nor must you lead your Men a running March over the Mountains, because you your self were us'd to pass them at that rate; but you must advance moderately, and hasten leisurely, that the Body of your Army may be able to keep Pace with you. It would likewise be a matter of very good Consequence, that some of the stoutest and most forward Men should now and then stay behind to encourage the rest; for when such a Wing moves, it will be a great Incitement to the rest to quicken their March, when they see their Leaders walk

the Army shall seem to run.
When Chrysantas had heard this, being transported with the Instructions that Cyrus had given him, he took with him his Guides, and departed; and having given his necessary Orders to those that were to march with him, he betook himself to his Repose. Now when they had taken what Rest he thought convenient, he began to advance toward the Mountains. And Cyrus, early the next Morning, dispatch'd a Messenger to the King of Armenia, giving him it in Charge to speak to him to this Effect.

at that rate before them, that the Residue of

*Cyrus his Commands to you, O Ring of Armenia, are, that you do thus and thus; name*Iy, That you repair unto Him with all possible
*Diligence, and bring with you both your Tri*bute and an Army. If he enquire of you where
*I am, tell him the Truth, that I am already
*centred his Frontiers. If he enquire further,
*whether I come my felf in Person or no; tell him

'him here also the Truth, and answer him, You know not. But if he be still inquisitive to learn how strong we are, bid him send out fome of his Spies to inform him.

With these Instructions Cyrus dispatch'd his Messenger; for he look'd upon this kind of Treatment to be more civil and friendly, than altogether to surprize him with an unexpected Invasion. This done, and Himself being every way well appointed either to perform the Expedition, or, if occasion were, to give the Enemy Battel, he march'd on; having first given it in Charge to his Souldiers, that they should injure no Man: but look what Armenians soever they met with, they should bid them take Heart, and fear nothing; and tell them, that any Man that pleased, might come and keep Market wherever the Camp was, and sell them Provisions either of Meat or Drink.

The End of the Second Book.

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Book III. Life of Cyrus the Great.

had with him, he put them in order of Battel; when immediately other Messengers repair'd to him, with Intelligence that Cyrus also himself in Person was hard at hand. Whereupon He. not daring to give him Battel, fecretly withdrew himself: which the Armenians that were with him perceiving, they fled every Man to his respective Home, with an Intent to convey their Moveables farther off.

Now when Cyrus faw the Field full of runaway Stragglers, driving their Cattel before them, he fent to them to let them know, That he would offer no manner of Hostility to any that stayed; but if he overtook any in their Flight, those he declar'd he would treat as his Enemies. Upon this Message, a multitude of them stayed; nevertheless, many withdrew themselves secretly with the King. Now when they that went before to conduct the Women fell into their Hands that guarded the Mountains, they presently set up a great Cry, and attempting to fave themselves by Flight, were many of them taken. At last his Sons, their Wives, their Daughters, with all the Riches and Treasures they brought with them, were feiz'd on by the Enemy. When the King understood what had befall'n them, not knowing which way to turn himself, he fled to the top of a certain Hill; The King which Cyrus likewise perceiving, with what For- of Armenia ces he had ready with them, he closely begirt it flies. round, sending withall to Chrysantas, commanding him to quit the Mountain where he was posted, and come to him. When Cyrus had held a Rendezvous of his Army, he dispatch'd a

Xenophon's Institution,

AND

Life of CYRUS the Great.

BOOK III.

Trus was very intent upon these Matters. Now the King of Armenia was greatly startled and astonished when Cyrus's Messenger deliver'd to him his Master's Commands, especially reflecting upon his own Injustice, both in detaining his Tribute, and not affiting him with his Army. But that which he fear'd most of all was, That his late beginning to build and fortifie his Palace Royal, would look as if it were done with a Defign to oppose them. Upon all these Accounts, he being in great Perplexity of Mind, issued forth Commissions for his Forces to come together, and conveyed into the Mountain Country his younger Son Sabaris, his Wife, and his Son's Wife, and his Daughters, with all their costly Ornaments and rich Furniture, appointing them a Convoy to secure their Passage. He sent out Spies likewise to inform him what Armenians ha

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Xenophon's Institution and Book III. Herald to the King of Armenia, with these Questions to be proposed to him: 'Tell me, O King of Armenia, whether you will choose rather to flay where you are, and fight with Hunger and "Thirst, or take the plain Field, and joyn Battel with us? To this the King of Armenia replied, That his Defire was, not to fight with either. Then Cyrus sent again, and demanded, Why 'therefore do you fit still there, and not come

down? Why, quoth he, because I know not what Course to take. But you ought not, quoth Cyrus, to make any doubt in this matter; for o you have free leave to come down, and plead your own Caufe. And who, reply'd he, shall

be Arbitrator in the Case? Who, answer'd Cyrus, but he whom the great God has empower'd, even without hearing your Plea, to treat you as he lift? Here the King of Armenia, having a regard to the Streights and Necessities he lay under, came down. Him Cyrus received, with all that belong'd to him, into the midst of his Army, and surrounded them with

his Camp, having now muster'd up all his Forces together.

Now it happen'd, that at this time, Tygranes, the King of Armenia's eldeft Son (who had often been a Fellow-Hunter with Cyrus) was just return'd from some Foreign Progress; who hearing what had happened (with fuch Equipage as he had) went directly to Cyrus. But when he faw his Father, his Mother, his Brother, and Sisters, and his own Wife, all made Prisoners of War, he (as justly he might) burst out into Tears. Whom when Cyrus faw, he received him

him with no other Complement, but only told him, You come, Sir, very opportunely, to be present at the hearing your Fathers Plea. And immediately he affembled together the Chief Captains of the Medes and Persians, inviting also such of the Armenian Nobility as were present, not excluding even the Women that were there in their Chariots, but permitted them also to hear. And, when he thought convenient, he

thus began. 'In the first Place, O King of Armenia, I ad- The K. of 'vise you to be ingenuous, and speak Truth in Armenia this Cause, that so you may be free at least pleads his from one Imputation, which of all things in the 'World is the most hateful: for know this assuredly, that nothing can be a greater Obstacle to a Man's obtaining Grace and Favour, than to be detected in an Untruth. Besides, your 'Children, these Ladies, and all the Armenians here present, are throughly acquainted with all your *Proceedings*; who, if they come to understand you speak otherwise than what is really true, will conclude, that you condemn your felf to fuffer the utmost Calamity if once I come to discover the Truth. Ask me therefore, O Cyrus, quoth he, what you please; for re-' folv'd I am, to declare the Truth, be the Issue what it will. Answer me then, said Cyrus; Did you ever wage War against my Grand-father Astiages, and the rest of the Medes, or no? I did, reply'd he. And when he had conquer'd 'you, did not you enter into Covenants with 'him to pay him Tribute, to assist him in his Wars whenfoever he fummon'd you, and to have



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have no Forts or Citadels in your Dominions? "Tis granted, reply'd he. Upon what Account therefore at this time have you not only not paid your Tribute, nor lent your Auxiliary Forces, but have begun to build Garrisons, and fortifie? The defire of Liberty, quoth he, in-'duc'd me to it: for I look upon it as a very 'honourable thing, both to enjoy my own Liberty, and also to leave it as Legacy to my cyrus deals Children. I confess, quoth Cyrus, 'tis commendable and brave in any Man to fight so with the K. c that he may never fall into Servitude: but if of Armenia. any one be detected in attempting a Revolt, and shaking off his Masters Yoak, who either by the Fortune of War, or by any other Accident, has been brought into Captivity, I would fain know of you, in the first place, whether you (if you feife him) promote such a one as an bonest Deserving Man, or rather pu-'nish him as an Offender? Why, said he, (for 'you will not allow me to lye) I punish him. Well then, quoth Cyrus, come on, deal frank-'ly with me in all these Particulars. If any one intrusted with Authority and Power, offend, whether do you continue him in the same Station, or substitute another in his Place? I put another, faid he, in his Place. How if he bevery wealthy, do you permit him to be rich 'still, or reduce him to Poverty? I strip him, quoth he, of all he has. But if you perceive him revolting to the Enemy, how then do you treat him? I put him to Death, quoth he; for ' why should I dye under the Conviction of Lying 'rather than the Confession of Truth? When his

Son Tygranes heard this, he tore his Turbant from his Head, and rent his Cloaths in pieces; and the Women giving a lamentable Shriek, bemangled themselves, as if their Father were already a lost Man, and they themselves undone for ever. Hereupon, Cyrus, commanding Silence, began again: 'This then, O King of Armenia, is your Law, this the Rule you walk by: But what would you advise Veto do in such a Case? Here the Armenian King was filent, as being in Suspense, whether he should counsel Cyrus to put him to Death, or make his present Advice contradict what he had confess'd he himself did already practice. But his Son Tygranes, seeing his Father in this Confusion, address'd himself to Cyrus, and faid; "May I, Sir, by your leave, advise you concerning my Father, what I think best for you to do? And Cyrus having observ'd that when Tygranes was his Companion in Hunting, he had a subtile Sophister, whom he held in great Admiration, attending upon him, he was very defirous to hear what he had to fay;

and therefore bid him speak his Mind freely. 'I, for my part, quoth Tygranes, advise, That Tygranes if you approve of either what my Father in-pleads his tended, or what he has already acted, you Fathers Cause. would therein exactly imitate bim; but if you 'look upon him as a *Delinquent*, not to follow him. I must not therefore, quoth Cyrus, imitate an Offender, if I intend to do what is Just. True, said he, therefore according to this Rule of yours, I ought to punish your Father, if it be a Principle of Justice to punish him that deals unjustly. But whether do you think it

better.

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better, O Cyrus, quoth he, to advantage or prejudice your self by exacting Punishment? Not the latter, said he, for so I should punish my felf. Yea, and be affur'd, reply'd Tygranes, that if you should destroy any of your own Subjests. when the Preservation of them might be most for your Service, you would be the greatest Sufferer your self. But how, quoth Cyrus, can they be look'd upon as Men of Value and Worth. who are taken in the very Act of Injustice? If at length, quoth he, they become more wife and fober. For 'tis my Opinion, Cyrus, that unles Prudence sit at the Helm, all other Virtues will miscarry. For what signifies a strong, robust Man? What Service can a Horseman perform. if he want Condust and Discretion? What is a wealthy Citizen, or a powerful Magistrate, without this? But with an Allay of Prudence, every Friend proves for our Advantage, and every Servant promotes our Good. This is that you fay then, quoth Cyrus, that your Father is this Day return'd from his Folly, and of an inconfiderate Man become wife. I do so, quoth he. Then you look upon Wisdom and Prudence, as you do upon Sorrow, to be an Affection of the Mind, and not an acquir'd Habit. But granting it necessary that a Man must first be understanding that will be discreet; yet it does not follow that an unwife Man shall all on a sudden become Wife. Why, good Cyrus, quoth he, did you never yet observe one Man in a foolish Rashness undertake to fight with another greater and more powerful than himself, who notwithstanding when he has been vanquish'd by him, prefently renounces his former Folly, and will no more act so unadvisedly against him? Or have you not seen one City bid Defiance to, and oppose another, which nevertheless, when it has been once reduc'd, chooses rather to obey than to refift the conquering City. But upon what Difafter of your Father's, quoth he, do you ground this strong Presumption of yours, that he is become sober and well-advis'd? Upon this, quoth he, because he is now conscious to himself, that having too eagerly affected Liberty, he has brought himself into such a Servitude as he never before knew; and because he finds himself utterly unable to effect any thing of that which by secret and clandestine means he supposed he might bring to pass, or else by open Violence obtain. Besides, he knows very well that wherein you design'd to circumvent him, you did it with as much eafe as one may impose upon Perfons that are blind, or deaf, or arrant Ideots. Then he is sufficiently satisfied, that what you intended should be carried covertly, was managed with fuch Secrefie, that in those very Places which he look'd upon as most fecure for his Recefs, you had coop'd him up and imprison'd him before he was aware. Then for Expedition and Dispatch, you have so far out done him there, that you have been able to bring a mighty Army out of a remote Country before he could mu-Her up his Forces that were round about him: But think you, quoth Cyrus, that to be thus baffled and defeated is sufficient to bring a Man to a fober Understanding, and make him acknowledge others to be better than himself? Un-

Undoubtedly, reply'd Tygranes, and that much more than if he were overcome in Battel. For oftentimes he that has been over-power'd by main force, thinks when he has duely exercised his Body, he shall be able to renew the Combate again; and Cities that have been forc'd to a Surrender, have, upon calling others to their Aid, thought themselves in a Condition to take up the Quarrel afresh. But whensoever any People look upon others to be better and mightier than themselves, to them they will commonly pay Obedience freely and without Constraint: It feems then, reply'd Cyrus, you are of Opinion, That infolent Persons have no regard for those that are of a more sober Deportment than themselves; nor Thieves and Robbers of those that are not so; nor Lyars of those that speak Truth; nor unjust Oppressors of those that do Justice. And are you ignorant, quoth he, that at this Juncture your Father has dealt perfidiously, nor has he perform'd Covenants with us, tho he knows we have not transgress'd one Tittle of the Articles agreed upon betwixt Astyages and Him? Nor do I affirm, quoth Tygranes, that the bare knowing of their Betters makes Men ferioufly consider, unless they also suffer by them, as my Father now does. But your Father, reply'd Cyrus, as yet has been no Sufferer at all: 'tis true indeed, I know, he is afraid he shall suffer the utmost Extremity. Think you then, anfwer'd Tygranes, that any thing can more subdue and un-man one than an over-ruling Fear? Know you not, that they that are smitten with the Edge of the Sword (which is look'd upon to

be one of the severest kinds of Sufferings, will nevertheless rencounter and fight the very same Enemies again? but those that Men are heartily afraid of, they are not able (yea tho they treat them friendly) so much as to look them in the face. Do you say then, quoth Cyrus, that the fear of Suffering is to Men a greater Punishment Fear is the than the Suffering it self? I do so, reply'd he, worst of and you know that therein I speak nothing but ments. the Truth. For you are not ignorant, that such as are afraid they shall be banish'd their Native Country, and they likewise, who being to encounter the Enemy, fearfully dread an Overthrow, live of all Men most wretchedly. They also that at Sea are in fear of a Shipwrack, Slavery, and Bondage, can neither eat, nor drink, nor fleep for very dread; whereas they that are already Exiles, already vanquist'd, Slaves already, can many times enjoy themselves, eat, drink, and fleep, better than those that are in a happier Estate: besides, these Instances will plainly evince how grievous and insupportable Fear is. For some there are, who, fearing lest they should miserably end their days in Captivity, do, either by throwing themselves headlong from some Precipice, or by Strangling, or by laying violent Hands on themselves, antedate their Death for very Fear. So that of all the most dreadful things in the World, nothing doth so much astonish Mens Minds as Fear. Now for my Father, quoth he, what Distraction of Mind think you doth he labour under, not only left he himself should be carried into Bondage, but for Me alfo

also, his Wife, and all the rest of his Children? I can eafily believe, reply'd Cyrus, that your Father does lye under those Perplexities you speak of: but I know also, 'tis natural for the same Person to be haughty and insolent in Prosperity, and yet prefently, upon the Approach of Affliction, to be as it were thunder-struck and amazed, and yet let him but be re-instated in his former Condition, he shall again be as arrogant as ever, and create you the same Disturbances as before. I confess, O Cyrus, quoth he, 'tis too true; our past Miscarriages are a sufficient Ground for you to distrust us: but it is in your Power to fortifie the Strong Holds, to put Garrifons into the Castles, and to receive of us what other Pledges and Hoftages you please; nor shall any of these things make us in the least murmur or repine, as remembring that we our felves are the Authors of our own Sufferings. But if you shall depute any Persons to the Government who have not been Delinquents, and yet you your self seem diffident and distrustful of them. beware, left whilst you oblige and advance them. they look upon you to be none of their Friend. On the other fide, if you, to avoid their Hatred, forbear to lay Yokes upon their Necks, whereby to awe and restrain them, take heed that hereafter you don't find it more difficult to curb and reclaim them, than now to reduce us. For my part, quoth Cyrus then, I protest I think I shall very unwillingly intrust my Concerns in their Hands whose mere Necessities. I know.

oblige them to accept my Service. But those

that I perceive willing to do their Duty out of

pure

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pure Affection for, and Love to me. Such, I think, even in their Miscarriages, I should soonener bear with, than those that hate me, yet are very diligent in performing a kind of Com-' pulsive Service. To this Tygranes reply'd, Whom can you lay such Obligations upon to Love and Serve you, as you may now upon Us? 'Upon those I believe, quoth Cyrus, who ne-'ver yet acted in an hostile Manner against me, oprovided I conferr the same Favours upon them which now you would perswade me to bestow upon you. But can you then, think you, O Cyrus, quoth he, at this time find out a Perfon upon whom you may lay fo many Obliga-' tions as you may upon my Father? For should 'you only spare the Lives of any of those that 'never yet injur'd you, you can't imagine how cxpressive the Returns of his Gratitude will be: Then should you spare his Wife and Children, who do you think will love and serve you more 'than he that believes he does defervedly suffer all 'this at your Hands? And can you suppose any Persons so much concern'd for the loss of the 'Kingdom of Armenia, as We? Most manifest, therefore it is, that He, who by the loss of his 'Kingdom, must needs be the greatest Sufferer, would, if he should receive the same of your 'free Grace, be your most obedient Friend and Servant. Besides, if upon your departure hence, 'you desire to leave all things in a fedate and quiet Posture, consider with your self, whether it will more conduce to the Peace and Tranqui ' lity of the State, to continue the old establish'd, or to introduce a new Government? Then if you arc

Xenophon's Institution and Book III,

are desirous to lead out a puissant Army into the Field, who do you suppose can make a better choice for you, than he who has often try'd and experienc'd their Worth? And should you stand in need of a Pecuniary Susidie, who can you imagine more proper to levy the same, than He that both knows and commands the Revenue of the Kingdom? Beware therefore, most Noble Cyrus, lest by ruining Us, you bring upon your self a greater Mischief than my Fa-

ther posibly could do. So spake Tygranes.

Now when Cyrus had heard this Speech, He was exceedingly pleas'd, believing he had effeeted all that which he had promis'd Cyaxares to perform: for he remembred he had faid, he doubted not but to bring the King of Armenia into more strict Engagements of Friendship than before. Wherefore, turning to the King of Armenia Himself, he said; What Army, O King, will you furnish me with? What Subsidy will you raise toward the carrying on of this War, provided I accept the Conditions you have propos'd? To him the King of Armenia reply'd, I cannot, O Cyrus, in Honesty or Justice, promile you less, than to give you an Account of all the Forces of my Kingdom, that you, knowing what they are, may take out of them what number you please, leaving a Guard sufficient for the Desence of the Country. Likewise, 'tis but reaso-'nable I should discover to you all my Treafure, that you, taking an Account of the same, ' may make Use of, and leave what you think fit. Come then, quoth Cyrus, let me know how confiderable your Strength is, and how 'rich Book III. Life of Cyrus the Great.

rich your Treasury. As for my Forces, reply'd the King of Armenia, I have about eight thou-'fand Horse, and forty thousand Foot. Then ' for my Treasure, reckoning what Sums my Father left me, it amounts to above three thou-'fand Talents of Silver. To this Cyrus immedi-'ately subjoyn'd, because the Caldeans, your 'Neighbours, make War against you, you shall only affift me with half your Army, and because 'you have neglected to pay Cyaxares the Tribute due to him, instead of fifty Talents, you. 'shall send him double the Sum. To me likewise 'you shall lend an hundred Talents, which, by the Assistance of Heaven, I engage either to repay, if I am able, or else to do you some Service, which may more than answer it. But in case I do not pay it, I may possibly be look't upon as not Solvent, but can't reasonably fall under the Imputation of being unjust. For 'Heaven's fake, faid the Kingof Armenia, I beseech you Cyrus, don't speak this, if you intend Ishould confide in you; But assure your self this, that whatever you leave behind you, is as much your own as what you carry with you. Well, granting this, quoth Cyrus; but now what Sum would you be willing to give for the Redemption of your Wife: Even all that I am worth, said He. What for the Redemption of your Children? Even all that I can possibly raise. According to your reckoning, quoth Cyrus, this is double the Value of what you posses. Now Tygranes, tell me, quoth he, what Ranfom you would willingly pay for the Restitution of your Wife? (by the by Tygranes had been lately married.

Prisoners

Ranfom-

free.

Man.

married, and was a passionate Admirer of his new Spouse) 'I would, said he, O Cyrus, even at the expence of my own Life gladly purchase her Freedom. Take Her to you then, quoth Cyrus, for I don't at all look upon Her as a Capmisseth his e tive, in regard you your self never deserted Us 'You also, O King of Armenia, take to you your Wife and your Children without Ransom, that

they may be fatisfied their departure from it is Free. At this time you shall sup with us, and Supper once ended, you are at Liberty to depart to what Quarter you please. Here then they tarried, and after Supper, whillt they were yet in the Tent; Tell, quoth Cyrus to Tygranes, what's become of that Person who didule

to hunt with us? For I remember you had a great Esteem and Veneration for him. Why, reply'd he, Has not this Father of mine put him to Death think you? What, said he, were the Crimes he charg'd him withall? His Accu-

fation was that he corrupted me. And I assure you, Cyrus, he was so Vertuous and Good a Man, that when he came to die, he fent for Me, and faid, O Tygranes, don't you, by any means,

murmur, or repine at your Father, because he An excel- will put me to Death, for this is not an Act of lent faying 'Malice but of Ignorance: And I look upon all of a Dying c

manner of Crimes to be purely Involuntary which proceed from Ignorance. Alas, good man, quoth Cyrus. To him the Armenian Kingtel ply'd, Men that find Strangers very Familian

and conversant with their Wives, don't there fore perfecute them even to Death, because their Conversation makes them more knowing and

gentile.

gentile, but therefore do they treat them as Enemies, because they are jealous they steal 'away that Love and Affection which is due to themselves. In like manner, the Reason why 'Ientertain'd such a jealousie of that Man, was, because I thought he made my Son revere 'and value Him more than he did my felf. To 'whom Cyrus reply'd, in good Truth, OKing of Armenia, I look upon this Action only as a 'common Humane Infirmity; and therefore you, 'Tygranes, ought to acquiesce in your Fathers Proceedings against this Man.

Thus they discoursed at this time; when haying, as was proper after such a Reconciliation, with friendly Embraces faluted each other, they, together with their Wives, mounted their Chariots, and joyfully departed. So foon as they came home, some began to commend Cyrus's Wildom, some his Courage and Patience, some his Clemency, and some his Beauty and graceful Meen. Then Tygranes ask'd his Lady, Tell me, Madam, quoth he, did not you think Cyrus a very goodly Person? I assure you, said she, I did not fo much as look upon him. Where then, quoth Tygranes, did you fix your Eyes? Even on him that protested he would purchase my Freedom with the loss of his own Life. This done. they all betook themselves to their Rest.

The Day following, the King of Armenia fent Presents of Hospitality to Cyrus and the whole Army; and gave it in Charge to fuch of his Subjects as were to go to the War, that they should be in readiness the third Day. To Cyrus likewile he sent double the Sum of Money he had

demanded.

demanded. But Cyrus, deducting what he had requir'd, return'd the remainder; defiring withall, to know whether of those two would put themselves at the Head of their Army, the Son, or the King Himself? To which they both return'd Answer, the Father thus; He whom you your self shall please to command: the Son to this Effect; Assuredly Cyrus, quoth he, I will not fail to follow you, tho it be to serve you as your Slave or Vasfal. To him Cyrus smilingly replyd. And upon what Terms would you be content to have your Wife hear that you are become Lug-

to hear of it, quoth he, for I will bring Her with me, that she may be an Eye-witness to all my Actions. But 'tis already high time, quoth Cyrus, that you prepare for your March. I make no

gage-Carrier to the Camp? She shall not need

doubt of it, quoth Tygranes, but that we out felves shall be in a readiness with whatever else my Father has appointed for your fervice. This

done, the Souldiers, after an hospitable Reception, betook themselves to their Repose.

The next day Cyrus took with him Tygranes, and the best of the Median Horse, with as many of his Friends as he thought convenient, and coasting about the Countrey, considered where He might creet a Fortress. Then coming to the top of a Mountain, He inquir'd of Tygranes which were the Hills from whence the Chaldeans made their Descents to spoil and pillage them? Which when Tygranes had pointed out to him, he farther ask'd him; whether they had at that time deserted them or no? No, believe me, quoth he, but they have alwayes their Spies

there,

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there, who fignifie to the rest whatever they dilcover. And what, faid he, do they upon any Discovery made? They hasten, quoth he, to the defence of these Frontier Mountains, with all the speed and power they can. When Cyrus had heard this, he look'd about him, and beheld a great part of the Countrey of Armenia lye waste and desolate by reason of the War. Then they return'd to the Army, and having supp'd together, betook themselves to their Rest.

The Morrow after, Tygranes himself was in all readiness, well appointed, being inforc'd with four thousand Horse, ten thousand Archers, and as many Targetiers. But whilft this Army was levying, Cyrus having first made an auspicious Sacrifice, called together the Captains both of the Persians and the Medes, and in a full Assembly spake to them to this effect; "These Mountains, my Friends, which we see before Us, are the Boundaries of the Chaldeans, which if we Crus conmake our selves Masters of, and thereon build sults how

a Cittadel of our own, both Nations, as well he may be Armenians as Chaldeans, must of necessity be the Calde-'aw'd by Us. Our Sacrifices promife good fuc- an Moun-

cess, and to effect this, nothing can so much tains. ' further and advance humane Resolution as Cee lerity and Dispatch. For if we can reach the

top of these Hills before the Enemies Forces can come together, we shall either be Masters of

them without any manner of Refistance, or else ingage with an Enemy that is very inconsiderable and weak. So that no Labour can be more

easie, no Undertaking less dangerous, provided, what we have resolv'd upon, we quickly, out of

hand,

you Armemans, half of you on our right Hand, the other half lead the Van, and conduct us in our way. You Horsemen, bring up the Rear, animate us, and force us forward; and be fure

you fuffer no one to be Lazy or Remifs. When Cyrus had thus faid, disposing his Arroplies 26- my into deep Files, He march'd on in the Flead of them. But when the Chaldeans perceiv'd 2,850 that they made a resolute Ascent, they presently

gave notice to their Fellows, who, upon mutual Alarms and Out-cries each to other, ran together. Hereupon Cyrus, incouraging his Souldiers, faid, 'Tis high time, O ye Persians, for Us to

make haste. For if we can prevent our Enemies, and gain these Hillsbefore them, all the Power they can bring will little avail them. Now

The Colde- the Caldeans are armed each of them with a ans a War- light Target, and two Javelins, and are reputed

like Nati- the most War-like People of all that Country. They serve also, if Occasion require, as stipendiary Souldiers, because, tho they are a very Martial Nation, yet are they very poor. For the Re-

gion they inhabit is Mountainous, and rich Soil they have little or none. Now when Cyrus his Souldiers had well nigh mafter'd the Afcent of the Hills, Tygranes, who march'd near him, faid:

Know you not, O Cyrus, that we our selves must immediately ingage the Enemy? For, as for the Armenians, they will by no means sustain the Affault. Cyrus told him, he knew that very well,

and presently gave command to the Persians, that they should prepare themselves for Battel; telling

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telling them, that they must fall upon, and purfue the Enemy, as foon as the Armenians, by turning their Backs upon them, had brought them somewhat nearer. So the Armenians, advanc'd in the Front; who approaching near the Enemy, as many of the Caldeans as were present, making, as their Custom is, a great Shout, fell furiously upon them, so that the Armenians being unable to abide the Onset, gave back, as they are us'd to

do. But when the Caldeans, pressing forward in pursuit of them, saw others with Swords in their Hands marching up directly against them; some

pushing on, and attacking them, were presently flain upon the Spot, others fled, and others were made Prisoners of War. So that in a short time they became Masters of those Hills. Which when they had gain'd, taking from thence a view of the Caldean's Country, they saw them quit and

abandon all the Neighbouring Habitations. Now as foon as the Army was come together, Cyrus commanded the Souldiers to dine. Which done, and he understanding that the Place where

the Chaldaan Spies were posted, was very defenfible, and well water'd, immediately began to erect a strong Fort there, commanding Tygranes to lend to his Father, willing him to repair thither, and bring with him all the Masons and Carpen-

ters he had. Whilst this Messenger was dispatch'd to the King of Armenia, Cyrus, with those about him, went on with his Fortifications. In this interim were brought unto him Prisoners,

fome bound, and others wounded, whom when Cyrus his Cyrus faw, He presently commanded those that Goodness to the Calwere in Bonds to be loofed, and fending for dean Cap.

Chirur- tives.

Chirurgions, charg'd them to take care that such as were wounded might be healed. This done. he told the Caldeans, that he came thither not our of any Ambition he had to conquer them, nor needed he make War upon them; but very defirous he was to establish a Peace betwixt the Armenians and Caldeans. Now before we had made our selves Masters of these Mountains, I know you were not in the least desirous of Peace. For your own Possessions were in safety; but the Armenians you pillag'd and plundred at your Pleasure. But now you see evidently what Circumstances you are in. You that are here Prisoners, I dismiss you, and give you leave to rerurn home, and consult the rest of the Caldeans, whether they will wage War again, or enter into an Allyance with Us. If you choose War, return not hither unarm'd, if you are wile: but if you think you have need of Peace, leave your Arms behind you. For if you are desirous to live in Amity with us, I will take care that all shall be well with you. When the Caldeans heard this, after they had been very liberal in praising of, and very Free in expresfing their thanks to Cyrus, they departed.

Now when the King of Armenia heard that Cyrus had fent for him, and understanding what Defign he was upon; bringing with him Souldiers, and what else he thought necessary, he hastned to Cyrus with all possible Diligence. Whom when he saw, he began to this Effect; Many and Great, O Cyrus, are the Designs

The King of Armenia to Cyrus.

' which we Mortals attempt, and yet how short-' fighted are we as to the Event and Success thereBook III. Life of Cyrus the Great.

of! For I my felf even now aiming at Liberty, 'was plung'd into a greater Servitude then ever 'I had known before: yet when we were made 'Prisoners of War, and look'd for nothing but 'inevitable Death, we find our selves now in a s much safer Estate than formetly we had at any time enjoy'd. For now I fee those very People that perpetually annoy'd us, reduc'd to such Gircumstances as I ever wish'd them. And know, O Cyrus, that to have forc'd the Caldeans to 'quit these Mountains, I would gladly have given a far greater Sum than you have yet received of me: So that that Service you ingag'd to do us, upon our furnishing you with so much " Money, you have already abundantly perform'd. We freely therefore acknowledge, that we lye under new Obligations of Gratitude to you, which if we are not very ill Persons, we may be asham'd not to perform; to whom, what Requital soever we make, it can bear no pro-⁶ portion to the Services done us by so great a "Benefactour. So spake the King of Armenia.

Now the Caldean Deputies coming to Cyrus to intreat him to be at Peace with them, he ask'd them, 'For what other Reason do you Calde-' ans at this time fue for Peace, but only because • 6 you think you shall live more securely so, than in War? For no other, said the Caldean's. But what, reply'd Cyrus, if more Advantages should caccrue to you by a Peace? That, said they, would make our Joy so much the greater. Well said he, what is it think you that makes e you poor, but only that you are destress d for want of a fruitful Soil? True, said they. Would you

'you then, quoth Cyrus, be willing to pay as much Tribute as other Armenians do, provi-6 ded you might manure and till as much Ar-"menian ground as you pleas'd? Gladly, reply'd the Chaldeans, if we could be affur'd we should on not be injur'd hereafter. And could you, faid he, O King, be content, that so much Ground of yours as now lyes wafte should be made 'Tillage, provided you receiv'd a proportionable Tribute? Yes, said the King of Armenia, I would purchase this Advantage almost at any 'Rate; for it would bring a very confiderable Addition to my Revenue. And you, Chaldeans, faid he, fince you are possess'd of fair and fertile Hills, will you give the Armenians leave to use the same for Pasture, provided they give you a valuable Confideration? Most readily, answer'd the Chaldeans; for that will bring Us in great Profits, without any Labour or Toyl of ours. But would you, O King of Armenia, make use of the Chaldees Pasturage, if for a finall Advantage accruing to them, you your ' self might reap much greater Profits? With all emy Heart, reply'd he, provided I might quiet-'ly enjoy the same. Well, said He, and may 'you not enjoy this Pasture-ground without Danger or Disturbance, if you have the Advantage of the Hill-Tops? Yes, said he. But we are very well affur'd, faid the Caldeans, if they be 'Masters of these Mountains, we shall be so far from enjoying their Land quietly, that we shall onot be able in safety to manure our Own. But what, said he, now, if these Mountains should

contribute to your safety? That would make

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very well for Us, faid they. True, faid the

King of Armenia, but I protest, it would make little for our Advantage if they should be again possess of the Mountains, especially being

'immur'd and fortify'd as now they are. Thus then, quoth Cyrus, will I deal with you, These Mountains shall be given up to neither of you,

but I my self will be there Commander in Chief: and if either of you wrong the other, I will sespouse the Cause of the injur'd Party.

Now when both fides had heard this his Refolution, they prais'd it extremely, concluding it was that only means whereby to establish a firm Peace. Hereupon they gave and receiv'd Hostages interchangeably; and came to these Terms of Agreement. That both Parties should use a Conditions common Freedom each with other. That they should of Peace promote mutual Marriages. That they should use between Tillage and Pasturage indifferently. And in Fine, the Arme-That they should mutually assist each other with Caldeans. their joynt Forces, if either Nation were at any time invaded. Thus were matters at this time transacted. And the Articles of this Treaty now concluded on, remain in full force, even at this Day, betwixt the King of Armenia and the Caldeans. As foon as these Conditions of Peace were ratified and confummate, both Parties readily affifted, and joyntly contributed Necessaries for the carrying on and finishing the Fort, which they look'd upon as a Common Bulwark

and Defence to both Nations.
When the Evening was come, Cyrus entertained at Supper both Parties, being now in perfect Amity each with other: And as they fat together

gether,

gether, one of the Caldeans began to this Effect. Thele Terms of Agreement can't but be very defirable and pleasing to all the rest of our Countrymen, save only such as live by pickering and robbing, who neither know what belongs to Tillage, nor can apply themselves to it, being always accustom'd to lead their Lives in War. They are constantly upon the hunt for Pillage and Plunder; and many a time have they taken pay of the King of India, (who is fam'd for a mighty wealthy Monarch) and ferv'd Altvages as Mercenary Souldiers. And why will they

not quoth Cyrus, serve me in the same Quality at this time? For I will allow them as fair a ftipend as any Man ever did, that pay'd them best.

They accepted his Proposals; and affur'd him, that many would be very willing to ferve Him. Matters being thus adjusted; and Cyrus un-

derstanding that the Caldeans sent frequent dispatches to the King of India, and withall remembring that there had been Spies sent from thence, first into Media, to pry into, and discover their Designs; and afterwards into their Enemies Country, to inform themselves what Circumstances they were in, he was ambitious that the Indian King should know what he had done. So he spake to them to this Effect. Tell Cyrus con- me, O King of Armenia, and you Caldeans, if

sults about I should from hence dispatch a Messenger with fending an Instructions to the Indian King, would you Ambassafor to the common joyn with him any of your Deputies who might King of In. 6 both conduct him in his way, and also affift dia.

6 him in procuring from that King a Grant of what I request? For I could wish my Treasure

· were yet more augmented, that I might be in a Condition not only to pay my Souldiers cliberally, but also to compensate their Services with proportionable Honours and Rewards. On these Considerations I would amass together as much Treasure as possibly I could. For tho I know I shall have need of it, yet, because I now look upon you as Friends and Allies, I would as gladly spare yours as I would willingly receive a supply from the King of India, if he would furnish me with it. The Messenger therefore (whom I expect you should conduct in his Journey, and affift in his Embassay) shall 'upon his Arrival there, make his Address to this purpose. To you, O King of India, has 'Cyrus sent me, with an Express to acquaint you that he needs a present supply of Money, be-'cause he expects yet another Army from Per-'sia; (for so in truth I do, said he.) Provided therefore you will furnish him with as much as 'conveniently you can, he declares, that if God crown his Actions with Success, he will endeavour so to approve himself to you, that you 's shall have Reason to confess, you did then

really consult your own Interest, when you comply'd with, and gratify'd Him. With these Instructions I shall send away my Envoy; but for your own you may Commission them to act as you think fit. And if he fend us a sup-

ply, we shall be able to expend so much the more magnificently: but if he refuse, we shall

look upon our felves to lye under no manner of Obligation to Him, but shall be left freely to

our own Liberty to take such Measures, as may, without

e were

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without any regard had of him, conduce most to our Interest and Advantage. So spake Cyrus, expecting that the Armenian and Caldean Agents should represent him after the same manner, as he defir'd the whole World should both talk and hear of him. This done, and the Feast ended, they thought it convenient to betake themselves to their Rest.

The next Day Cyrus sent away his Envoy with these Instructions; the King of Armenia likewife and the Caldeans appointed Persons to attend him, whom they efteem'd best qualified to follicit for, and also to report of Cyrus things that were worthy him. After this, Cyrus having now finish'd the Fort, he put into it a sufficient Garrison, and furnish'd it with all things necesfary, then constituting a Mede Governour of the Place, (which he knew would be highly pleafing to Cyaxares) he departed, taking with him not only the Army he brought thither, but also the additional Forces of the Armenians, together with those of the Caldeans, to the number of four thousand, who look'd upon themselves as a People of more Bravery and Courage than any of the rest. Now when he was come into those parts of the Country that were cultivated and well peopled, not one of all the Armenians, either Man or Woman, but quited their Houses, and came forth to meet him; expressing their loy for this Peace, by bringing and presenting to him

The Armenians Enwhatsoever was of Worth or Value amongst tertainthem. Nor was the King of Armenia diffatisment of Cyrus at his fied hereat, believing Cyrus would be very well Return. pleas'd, to be thus nobly receiv'd and honour'd

by All. At last, the Queen of Armenia her self, attended with her Daughters, and her younger Son, came forth to meet him; who, amongst other rich Presents, brought with her the Gold. which Cyrus before had refus'd to accept. Which when he perceiv'd, he said, 'You shall never 'make me a Mercenary Benefactor. Wherefore, 'Madam, take this Money to your felf, and don't return it again to the King to be by him hord. ed up and buried; but rather make use of it to accoutre your Son, and fend him forth with an honourable Equipage to the Army. Secure the Remainder to your felf, your Husband, and your Children, that so you, enjoying thereof, and adorning your selves therewith, may spend your dayes in more Gayety and 'Pleasure. And let it suffice that your Bodies when dead shall be buried in the Earth. This faid, he rode forward, the King of Armenia himfelf in Person with all his People attending him. and calling him their good, their gracious Benefactor, still following him with these Acclamations, till they had conducted him beyond the Frontiers of their Country. The Armenian King likewise, having now Peace at home, surnished him with a greater Army.

Thus Cyrus departed, having not only richly supply'd himself with present Treasure, but also (by his gracious deportment) affur'd to himfelf a much greater Store, which he could at any time command, as his Occasions required. At present he sat down with his Army, and encamp'd in the Frontiers. The next day he fent his Army and Money to Cyaxares, (who according to

· Labour,

Xenophon's Institution and Book III. his Promise was hard at hand,) whilst he, Tygranes, and the Persian Nobility, diverted themselves with Hunting. Afterwards, being come into Media, he distributed amongst his principal Officers good store of Money, as an Encourage. ment to them, to honour and teward fuch of their Souldiers as they themselves set a value upon; concluding that the whole Body of the Army must needs be admirable, if every particular Officer did fo discharge his Trust, that those he commanded should act nothing but what was honourable and brave. Besides, if he himself at any time knew what would advance

Cyrus's Liberality.

> it amongst the most deserving; as fully perfuaded, that whatfoever was great or glorious amongst them, still rendred him so much the more Illustrious. Now when he had distributed his Largesses among them, in a full assembly of his Captains, Lieutenants, and other inferiour Officers, that were in Reputation and Esteem, He spake to this Effect.

the Interest and Grandeur of the Army, he would

purchase it at any Rate, and generously bestow

His Oration to his Captains, Orc.

'Me thinks at this time, my Friends, I difcover a kind of cheerful Rejoycing amongst 'us, I suppose, because we have obtain'd so libe-'ral a Supply, that now we have wherewithall to reward those that merit well, and may also our felves expect to be honour'd according to our Dignities and Deserts. Let us then especially recollect by what Steps and Methods we 6 have gain'd our selves such considerable Advantages: For if you Measure your own Actions aright, you will find, that Watching and Book III. Life of Cyrus the Great.

Labour, and Diligence, and a resolute withstanding the Enemy, has made you what you are. Wherefore your Duty it is to acquit you for the future, like men truly valorous and brave: 'affuring your felves, that nothing but Obedience, Resolution, and Perseverance in difficult 'and dangerous Enterprises, can purchase true

'Pleasure, and substantial Good.

Now when Cyrus perceiv'd how vigorous his Souldiers were; their Bodies robust and strong to undergoe the Toils of War; their Souls truly generous, and daring to despise the Enemy; well skill'd in what belong'd to their particular Armour; and all of them freely disposed intirely to obey their Commanders: very defirous he was, upon these Accounts, immediately to execute some Design or other against the Enemy. For he knew that by lingring and delay, the noblest Projects, even of the bravest Generals, are often baffled and defeated. Besides, he saw Heats and Animolities fomented in the Army, through the Ambition of some, and Jealousie of others; for which reason he thought it the best Policy to bring them without delay into the Enemies Country: having learnt by Experience, that common Dangers, even among Souldiers, hinder their Affections each to other. For in fuch Case no man envies the glittering Armour of one, or repines at the Ambition of another; but do equally commend and congratulate one anothers Success, believing that they are all joyntly concern'd to procure the Advancement of the common Good. First then, he furnished out, and marshal'd his Army after the best and L 2 most

most fightly manner he could. This done, he affembled together his Collonels, Captains, Lieute. nants and Enfigues (for these were free-Officers, and not enroll'd in the ordinary Lists of Souldiers; yet when they were to wait upon the General for his Commands, or to inform him in any particular, the Army was not, therefore left at random, but allthings were plaufibly manag'd by inferiour Officers, who commanded fome perhaps twelve, some six in a Partie.) Now as 161 Samul- soon as these sprime Commanders were met, Cyrus took them into his Tent, and not only demonstrated to them what Order and Discipline

was; but also throughly inform'd them wherein particularly confifted the Strength of their Allies. And when he had rais'd in them an earnest defire of entring presently upon Action, he sent them back to their respective Charges, there to teach every Man in his proper Province, what they had learn'd of him; and endeavour to kindle in them All, a Zeal heartily to espouse and purfue this War, that so the whole Army may march out with all imaginable Cheerfulness, and early in the Morning appear before Cyaxa-

His Orati-

Syria.

himself to Cyaxares in this manner. I know very well, O Cyaxares, quoth he, cerning in- that the point I shall now speak to, has been vading Af- 'long fince approv'd of by You, as well as by 'Me: but You perhaps may be unwilling to

e declare

res his Gates. They immediately departed, and

did as he commanded. And the next Morning,

by break of Day, came and presented them-

felves before the Palace Royal. Then Cyrus with

his Principal Officers entring the Court, address'd

'declare your Thoughts, lest possibly, if you 'should mention the leading forth our Armies, it might be suspected you were weary of the Expence of maintaining them at home, fince therefore you are pleas'd to be Silent, I will 'underrake to manage this Concern in your be-'half as wellas my own. We are all then refolv'd 'upon the point, fince we are so compleatly 'furnish'd, not to suffer your Enemies to invade your Country before we give them Battel, nor will we fit down fecurely here and wait their coming; but immediately march out into their Territories. For fo long as we remain with-'in your Dominions, we cannot (tho fore against our Wills) but spoil and impoverish them: 'Whereas, were we advanc'd into the Enemies 'Quarters, we should pillage them with Plea-'sfure and Satisfaction. Besides, you now maintain us at a vast Charge; whereas did we make our Enemies Country the feat of the War, we would maintain our selves at their Expense. I confess, did greater Dangers threaten us there, 'then here, we might have some colour to choose the fafest Place. But since they will certainly be the same Men, whether we expect their coming and fight them here, to whether we pass their Frontiers, and meet them there: and we our selves shall be equally able to oppose them, 'whether we stay here to receive them, or march out against them, and give them Battel. Nay, 'in truth, we shall find our Men much more forward and daring, if we be the Invaders, 'and don't feem afraid to look the Enemy in the

Face. And they likewise will so much the more

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ael.

dread us, when they understand we don't sit ar home like a faint-hearted People for fear of them; but upon the first Notice of their coming against us, we presently march out to meet and fight them; not lingting at home till our own Country be harafs'd and destroy'd, but prevent that by first laying theirs waste. Now, I conceive, that to make them more timorous, or our selves more bold, will be to us a matter of very great Consequence; for by this means, I reckon the Danger on our fide will be less, and on the Enemies confiderably greater. Besides, 'itis a common faying with my Father, and with you also, which every one else likewise takes for granted, that a Man may better iudge of the Issue of a Battel, by the Courage and Resolution of the Hearts, than by the bo-

^c Cyrus; and Cyaxares thus .cply'd. I would neither have you, O Cyrus, norther reft of the Perfuns entertain any fuch Thoughts of me, as if Iquarter'd you here grudgingly, and with regret. Nevertheless, I esteem it most advisable, in every respect, that we immediately 6 fall into the Enemies Country. Since then, quoth Cyrus, we are both upon the same point, let us

dily Strength of the Combatants. So spake

and if the divine Sacrifices quickly favour our Design, let us as speedily set forward. This faid, having given the Souldiers charge to preparethemselves, hesacrific'd first to King Jupiter,

be all in a readiness with Bagg and Baggage;

then to the rest of the Gods, beseeching them that they would be propitious and favourable to them, that they would vouchsase to go forth

with

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book III.

with their Armies, guide, succour, and affist them, and in all things direct them for their Advantage and Good. He implor'd likewise the Assistance of the Tutelar Demi-Gods, Inhabitants and Guardians of Media. When he had fortunately finish'd his Sacrifice, and the whole Army was now affembled on the Frontiers; encourag'd by Auspicious Presages, he invaded the Enemies Cyrus in-

Land. No fooner had he pass'd the Marches, vades Assistant Office Marches, via. but he pour'd out Propitiatory Offerings upon

the Earth, and by Sacrifice appeas'd the Gods and Demi-Gods, Patrons, and Inhabitants of Af-

Syria. This done, he facrific'd yet once more to Jupiter, the Protector of his Nation: nor did he Acti 7000

neglect any other God that came in his Way. All things having thus prosperously succeeded, the Foot ptesently advanc'd by easie Marches, and encampt; whilst the Horse, making, frequent Inroads into the Country, brought off abundance of Spoil and Booty. Furnish'd thus with store of Provision, they dislodg'd thence, and encamp'd farther, to wait the Enemies coming, still ravaging the Country all along as they went. Now when Cyrus had Intelligence that the Enemy was advanc'd within ten Days March, 'Tis high time, quoth he, Cyaxares, to fet forward and meet them; that we neither give occasion to them, nor to our own Souldiers, to think we are afraid to go out against them; but rather let us evidence to them both, that we come with all Cheerfulness and Resolution to fight them. This Cyanares approv'd of; and henceforward they mov'd al-

waies in Battalia, making longer or easier Mar-

ches as they thought fit. They supp'd still by

Day-

Xenophon's Institution and Book III.

Day-light. They never made any Fires in the Night time within the Camp, but without the Camp they did, that by the Advantage of the Light thereof; they might be able, themselves undiscern'd, to discover whether any one came toward them in the Night. They would oftentimes kindle Fires behind the Camp, to amuse the Enemics, so that now and then their Scouts would fall in among our Out-Guards, perswading themselves by the distance of the Fire, that the

Camp was a great way off.

Now when both Armies drew near each other, the Assyrians and their Confederates (a thing practis'd even at this Day among those Barbarian Kings) fortified themselves with a Trench; which they always do, when ever they lye encamp'd, and that with a great deal of ease, by reason of their vast Numbers. For they know very well that a Troop of Horse-men (especially Barbarians) is very troublesom and unserviceable in the Night; their Horses being alwayes tyed by the Feet to the Manger: fo that upon any sudden surprise, they would find it very difficult to unloose and bridle them, and no less troublesom to saddle and harness them, and at last to mount them, and ride through the Camp, utterly impossible. All this consider'd, they, as well as other Barbarous Nations, use thus to entrench themselves; believing that being so strongly fenc'd and fortifi'd, they can't be oblig'd to fight but when they please. Whilst this was doing, the Armies were advanc'd somewhat near

within a strong Entrenchment, but very open and expos'd to view. But Cyrus pitch'd his Tents in as close and secret a Place as he could, raising np Rampires and Mounts of Earth afront his Camp, knowing that all Warlike Preparations, the more surprising they are, the more do they terrifie and amaze the Enemy. So for that Night, after their Sentinels were fer, both Armies betook themselves to their Repose. The Day following, the King of Affyria, Crafus, and the rest of the Captains, kept their Army quiet within their Trenches. But Cyrus and Cyaxares stood in Battalia, ready to fight, expecting when the Enemy would come our. Bur when they knew for certain that the Enemy would not quit their Trenches, nor come to Battel that Day, Cyaxares, calling to him Cyrus, and the rest of the chief Captains, spake unto them as follows. "I think it advilable, my 'Friends, that we march in this posture, imbat-· tled as we are, to our Enemies Trenches, and 'let them know we are very defirous to fight them. For if upon this, they refuse to come forth against us, our Men will attaque them with greater Vigour and Courage; and they seeing us so resolute and daring, will be so much the 6 more disheartned. Thus he deliver'd his Opinion. Then Cyrus. For Heavens sake, said he, 'I beseech you Cyaxares, let us attempt no such thing. For if we should march out now, and

thing. For if we should march out now, and shew our selves to the Enemy, as you advise us, they will look upon us with a kind of con-

tempt, not fearing us in the leaft, because they

know themselves so securely fortified against our

The odryyn. a Persian Word: it contain'd

to fight but when they please. Whilst this was longs, near doing, the Armies were advanced somewhat near four Miles one another, not distant above a Persian Mile, English, the Assignment lying encamped as has been side

the Affyrians lying encamp'd, as has been faid, within

our Assaults, that nothing can hurt them: then if we draw off again without effecting any thing, they will prefently disdain and scorn us, feeing us fo much inferiour to them in Number; and the next Day fally out upon us with greater Resolution and Assurance, But as Matters now stand, knowing we are so near, yet not feeing us, believe me, they are onot forward to despile us, but wonder what we mean, and I dare affure you we are very much the Subject of their Debates. Whereas, if they come forth on their own accord, it will then behoove us not only to let them see, but feel what we are, falling upon them immediately in that very Place where we would gladly have fought them before. When Cyrus had thus spoke, not only All the rest, but even Cyaxares himself applauded his Counsel. Then, after ha-

led before the Camp, they retir'd to their Rest. The next Morning early, Cyrus, crown'd with a Chaplet, came forth to facrifice, commanding the rest of the Persian Nobility to appear in the

ving sup'd, the Watch being set, and Fires kind-

lity of Perfia.

Cyrus his

Oration to fame drefs, and attend at the Solemnity. These the Nobi- Ceremonies perform'd, he spake to the Assembly to this Effect. The Gods, my Friends, as the Sooth-fayers declare, and I my felf am verily perswaded foreshew a Battel at hand, and not only promife us Victory, but by the Sacrifices to affure us of Safety. Now for me to exhort you how to behave your selves in this juncture, I suppose will be needless; for I am abundantly fatisfied you know that as well as I, having already hear'd and study'd, and still hearing and practifing Book III. Life of Cyrus the Great. oractifing this, no less than my felf; so that herein you may juffly pretend to instruct others. But if you are yet to feek, if you are yet to be inform'd, hearken to me. These our new-listed Affociates, if we have a Zeal to make them like our felves, must be put in mind for what end Cyaxares has maintain'd us, what kind of Exercises we have been train'd up in, to what purpose we have animated and provok'd them to declare themselves ready to share with us the Danger and Fortune of the War. You must likewife remember them that this is the Day which will fignalize every Man according to his Merits. For 'tis not to be admir'd at, if they that begin late to learn, fland in need of one to encourage and advise them. But well it is when Men behave themselves valiantly, tho quickned thereunto and excited by others. Besides, your encouraging them will be an evident Proof of your own Worth. For he that can upon such Emergencies as these infuse Resolution and Valour into others, may very justly believe that he himself is already a most absolute Master of the same. But if he be only a Remembrancer to himself, and his Monitions have no further Influence, he can't reasonably believe but that he is vet half way short of Perfection. Upon this Account it is that I don't direct my Discourse to them, but leave that Charge wholly to you, that they also may endeavour so to acquit themfelves as to be approved by you. For you are near them, and converse with them, every Man in his proper Station. And know this, that fo long as you convince them that you are bold and 156

ferve.

and couragious, fo long do you teach them to behave themselves valiantly, not by Precept only, but Example. This Discourse he closed up with his Commands that they should sit down to dinner crown'd as they were, and after they had offered their Drink-Offerings, return to

the Army with their Garlands on their Heads. After they were departed, He immediately Oupayes, sent for the Rere-Officers, and spake to them as follows. Country-men and Friends, you also are of the Pecrage of *Persia*, choice Men reputed. as in other Respects equal to the best, so in regard of your Age wifer than any; For which cause you are intrusted with a Charge no less honourable than theirs who command in the Front of the Battel. For marching as you do, in the Rere, by observing and exciting those that do well, you animate them still with new Courage; and those that are lazy and unactive, by having an Eye upon them, you make them asham'd of their Cowardice. And indeed the Authority of your Age, as well as your Garb, makes Victory, if to any, due to you. If therefore any of the Leaders of the Van-Guard call upon you and encourage you to follow them, be fure you obey them; and that this may not feem a lessening of you, do you exhort and quicken them to lead on more briskly against the Enemy. For the present you may depart hence to Dinner, that done, repair all of ye to your Respective Commands, crowned with Chaplets, as the rest of the Officers are. And these were the Instructions that Cyrus injoyn'd his Captains to ob-

The Assyrians, after Dinner, boldly quitted their Intrenchment, and with great shews of Resolution and Gallantry were drawn up in Battalia. The King himself marshal'd them, and riding up and down the Army in his Chariot, en- The King couraged them with this Exhortation. Men of of Affyria's Affyria, This is the Day wherein you are to his Army. fignalize your selves by your Valour. For now you must fight for your Lives, for the Country wherein you were born, the Houses wherein you were bred, your Wives, Children, and all your Possessions. If you come off with Victory, you will remain as before, Lords and Proprietors of all this: But if you are conquer'd, assure your selves, at the same time you give up all into the Enemies Hands. You therefore that would gladly return Victors, bear up bravely against them. For 'tis an unaccountable piece of Folly in them that hope for Conquest, to expose the naked, unarm'd, and defenceless parts of their Bodies to the Enemies pursuit. And no less abfurd is it for any one, that would willingly fave his Life, therefore to betake himself to flight; as knowing that the Conquerours are they that furvive; but for Fugitives and Renegades, they oftner dye than those that stand the heat and brunt of the Battel. But he is a most inexcusable Sot, that is desirous to heap up Riches, yet is content to be vanquish'd at an easte Rate. For who does not know that the Victors not only secure what is their own, but seize also upon the Wealth and Treasures of the Conquered: whereas they that are overcome, at once enflave themselves, and forseit all they have. So spake Then

the King of Assyria:

The

parted.

Then Cyaxares sent to Cyrus, to let him know he thought it high time to march out against the Enemy. For, taid he, although few of them have yet quitted their Trenches, yet by that time we are advanced up to them, they will be very numerous. Let us not therefore lye lingring here, till they are able to over-power us in Number; but fall on and attacque them now whilst we believe we may obtain an easie Victory over them. To this Cyrus reply'd; Affure your self of this Cyaxares, that unless we ingage with, and defeat the major part of them, they will certainly report, that their Numbers so terrified us, that we durst only encounter them in small Parties; and consequently will not at all look upon themselves to be overcome; So that you will be oblig'd to try the Fortune of another Battel, wherein possibly they may use other and better Policie than now they have done, by suf-*rapus vos fering themselves so to be flut up in their Holds, that we may fight them in what Numbers we

> Now Cryfantas the Persian, and others of the Nobility were newly arriv'd at the Camp, having brought in with them some Deserters, whom Cyrus examin'd concerning the Enemies Actions and Defignes. They told him, that they were already march'd out of their Trenches arm'd; that their King at the Head of them was fetting them in Battalia; and that as they had receiv'd it from those that heard him, he encouraged them still as they came forth, with many preffing and effective Exhortations.

Then

please. With this Answer the Messengers de-

Book III. Life of Cyrus the Great. Then said Crysantas; what if you, O Cyrus, should, whilst you have yet Opportunity, call your Souldiers together, and by some pathetick Thoughts? To whom Cyrus reply'd, Trouble not Cyrus his your self-good Cryfantas, at these Monitory Dis-Discourse courses of the King Assyria; for be they never so to Crysan-

Oration stir up in them brave and heroick vehement and perswasive, they cannot in one day make Cowards valiant: nor teach Men the perfect use of the Bow, that have not yet been train'd up in Archery: nor are they powerful enough to make those good Darters, or complete Horsemen, who have not by frequent Practice master'd the same: nor teach men to undergoe Hardships, whose Bodies have never been inur'd thereunto. But said Crysantas, 'tis sufficient, O Cyrus, if your Exhortations prevail with them to shew themselves more courageous. Can there then, quoth Cyrus, be such Efficacy in a fingle Oration, that the bare pronouncing of it, shall not only make the Hearers asham'd of doing any thing that is base and infamous, but also excite in them noble Resolutions, for the Love of Glory, to undergo all manner of Toil, and encounter the most desperate Dangers, fixing them firmly in this Opinion, that to dye bravely in Barrel is much more preferable, than to fave ones Life by an inglorious Flight. Besides, to imprint in Mens Minds such generous Thoughts as these in lasting and indeleble Characters, is it not think you necessary that the Law should make such Provision for valiant, worthy Men, that they may live in a state of Freedom and Honour; but Cowards may be doom'd

doom'd to an abject, wretched and uncomfortable Life? And further, I hold it very requilite, that Teachers and Governours prefide over them, who may by Example as well as Precept to prevail upon them, as to fix in them this Opinion. That Men of Valour and Honour are truly the most happy; but Cowards and Villains the most miserable People in the World. For indeed they that would rather figuralize themselves by their own good Discipline, than take Advantage of the Enemies Fear, ought to be thus qualified and instructed. Now when just marching out to

Battel (for upon fuch a furprize many of them

Fortitude.

Souldiers.

forget their old Instructions) if it were possible then by a tumultuary Oration, to make them immediately warlike Men; how easie would it be, both to learn and to teach the greatest and noblest Vertue that Mankind is capable of. I, for my part, could hardly confide in these Mens Resolutions (though they have been train'd up and exercised with us) but that I see you ready, in your own Persons, to give them Examples what they ought to be, and also able to inform them wherein they are deficient. And to me, Cryfantas, 'tis no less wonderful, that the graceful Delivery of an Oration should make raw undisciplin'd Men truly valiant, than that a tuneful Melody sweetly sung, should make them compleat Musicians, who are utterly unacquainted with the Art.

Whilst matters were thus debating, Cyaxares fent again to Cyrus, to let him know he did very ill to make such delays, and blamd him for not marching directly against the Enemy. But

Cyrus

Book III. Life of Cyrus the Great. Cyrus sent back the Messengers with this Answer: Acquaint Eyaxares, quoth he, that there is not vet'a sufficient number of our Enemies come forth of their Camp: and this be fure you tell him in the hearing of the whole Army. Nevertheless feeing it is his Pleasure, I will instantly march. This faid, having first made his Supplications to the Gods, he led forth his Army. Now when he began to lead them on a great pace, he himself marching in the Head of them, his Souldiers all follow'd him in Battalia, as having by long Experience and Practice perfectly learn'd to keep fuch Order. They march'd on briskly too, because there was a kind of Emulation amongst them; their Body's were hardned and inur'd to Travel; and all their Leaders were principal Commanders. They advanc'd likewise with a

per and knowing. For they understood well enough what they had learn't long before, that it was the easiest and safest way to charge the Enemy close, especially if they were Archers, Darrers, or Horsemen. Whilst therefore they

were yet out of Arrows-shot, Cyrus gave them

the fignal, Jupiter, our Protector and Leader.

Which, when it had pass'd through the Army,

and back again to him, he began a solemn Hymn

to Castor and Pollux, in which the whole Host very devoutly bare a part with him, singing with a loud Voice. For they that at such a juncture are thus superstitiously given, stand so much the less in sear of Men. This Solemnity being ended, the Nobles march'd on cheerfully

together, as being perfectly instructed in the

Art

Book III.

Art of War; And looking round about one unon another, they call'd their Friends and Followers by name, encouraging them by the frequent Repetition of these Words, (now beloved Friends, now valiant Fellow Souldiers) to bear up briskly against the Enemy. Which when they in the Rere heard, they likewise animated and exhorted their Leaders to march on boldly. So that the whole Army of Cyrus was full of Alacrity, Emulation, Vigour, Resolution, Exhortation, Temperance and Obedience, than which nothing can be a more terrible Sight to an Enemy. But of the Affyrian Army, those that came first out of their Intrenchment to begin the Battel as soon as the Persian Host drew near mounted their Chariots, and retir'd into the main Body. Their Archers, Darters, and Slingers discharged at the Enemy fooner than they could possibly reach them. Now when the Persians were so far advanc'd that they trod upon the Enemies Arrows, Cyrus said with a loud Voice: Most valiant Captains, let some one amongst you immedi-. ately step forth, and by some notable Exploit animate and encourage the rest. Which Words palling from them to others, some out of a courageous Forwardness and Zeal to fight, began to run, and were seconded by all the rest of the Army. Cyrus also himself, forgetting his walking-March, ran now at the Head of them, crying out, Who follows? Who is the most daring? Who first kills his Man? Which the rest hearing, did the same; So that the whole Army refounded with this pathetick Exhortation, Who will follow? Who dares be courageous? Thus warm'd

warm'd and excited, the Persians fell on, and charg'd the Enemy fiercely, who not being able to maintain their Ground, turn'd their Backs, and fled to their Rampiers. The Persians pursu'd them closely to the very entrance of their Cyrus his Camp, where they flew many of them, throng-Victory ing hard one upon another. Those that fell into Pertians. the Trenches, they leap'd down upon them and flew them Horse and Man. Some of their Chariots likewise in their flight were forc'd into the Ditches: Which when the Median Cavalry perceiv'd, they fell furiously upon the Enemies Horse, and made them give way. Hereupon began a desperate pursuit both of Horse and Men. with a mighty flaughter of both. The Affirians within the Camp, who were got up to the top of the Rampier, had neither Will nor Power to shoot at those that made such Hayock of them; So dreadful was the Spectacle, and so astonish'd were they with Fear. Nay presently, when they understood some of the Persians had by a breach forcibly entred their Intrenchments, they quitted their Posts, and fled. Now when the Wives of the Assyrians and their Confederates saw them flye even in their own Camp, they skrieck'd out, and ran up and down like People distracted. Matrons as well as Virgins rent their Garments, tore their own Flesh, and begg'd of those they met with, not to run away and leave them helpless; but to protect their Children, their Wives and themselves. At last, the Kings also, with a Reserve of the most trusty Men they had, came to the very entrance of the Camp, and mounting the Rampiers, both fought themselves in Person, M 2 and .

Xenophon's Institution and

Book III

and likewise encouraged others so to do. Cyrus understanding what was done, and fearing lest if they should violently break in upon them they being inferiour in Number, might suffer by them; He founded a retreat, commanding them upon their Obedience to draw out of Arrow-shot. There one might have seen how admirably the Nobility had been educated: For

they not only readily obey'd themselves, but immediately commanded the reft to do the like And no fooner were they out of the Enemics

reach, but every man rang'd himself in his proper Place, as eafily and readily as in any Dance, His Order- because they all knew perfectly their own Staly Retreat. tions.

The End of the Third Book.

Xenophon's Institution,

AND

Life of CYRUS the Great.

BOOK IIII.

H E N Cyrus had kept his Forces together some time, and declared that his Men were in a Posture to fight, if the Enemy would quit their Trenches; which none doing, he withdrew his men at fuch a distance from them, as he judg'd convenient for his Purpole. When having pitch'd his Camp, and fet his Watch, and fent abroad his Scouts, he himself appearing in the midst of them, made a Speech to the Souldiers that were assembled to this Effect. In the first place, I praise the Deities of Persia, and I suppose you do the same, that we have gained the Victory Cyrus his with fafety and fecurity. And for this, it becomes Gratitude us to pay our Acknowledgments to the Gods to God according to our Abilities. And for you, I can- and Man. not but commend you All. For what is pass'd, hath been purchased by you very honourably. But when I have enquir'd of fuch as are concern'd, M3

what

what each hath merited, then my Endeavour shall be to proportion Acknowledgments and Rewards to each, according to his Rank. For Chryfantas's partindeed, next in command of the Cohorts to my felf, I have no need to enquire of others, for I my self am Witness how he be. hav'd himself. For all the Services that ye all did, he performed; and when I called him off by name, although he was prepared to attaque the Enemy, yet notwithstanding he obey'd my call, and left undone what he was about to do, to do what he was commanded. For he not only drew off his own Forces, but gave his Example and my Commands to the rest; in such lost, as he drew off the Cohorts out of thot of the Arrows, before the Enemy could so much as suppose we would retire, and yet they could bend their Bows, and dart their Javelins at us; whence it came, that he brought himself and his men off safe, by his Obedience. Some others of you indeed I discern wounded, of whom, when I have examined what time they receiv'd their Wounds, I shall then deliver my Opinion. But for Chryfuntas, as he is stout and expert in fight, and knowing both to command and to obey, I shall confer on him at present the Honour of a Tribune, and as God shall do better for us, we may for him; and for you all; (fays he) I would have you taught by his Experience: for Images of what we have seen pass in this Fight, ought always to dwell upon your Minds, that so ye may determine with your selves, whether you are to maintain your Lives with Honour, or by Flight? And which do better, they who stoutly stand to

their

Book IIII. Life of Cyrus the Great.

their Arms, or they who basely run away? This Pleasure we owe to a Victory. For of these things we shall judge best, when we have made Tryal, and the Scene is yet fresh before our Eyes. And as you duly reflect on these things, you will commence more experienced. Now like Men acceptable to the Gods, magnanimous, yet moderate, furnish out a Banquet, sacrifice to the Gods, fing Paans, and take care, that whatever is commanded may be put in Practice. This faid, he got up on Horse-back, and rode to Cyaxares: with whom, after he had, as was fit, shared the Pleasure in common between them of mutual Congratulation, and had informed himself of what past there, and enquired if they had need of him, he returned to his Army. After which, his Souldiers having supped, and set their Watch, they composed themselves to Rest.

But the Assyrians, whose Princefell, and with him the Flower of their Force, were all in great Dejection, many also were the Deserters by Night. Which when Crafus and his Companions discovered, they were perplexed, for all things were in ill Plight. But what afflicted them most was, that that Nation, whose Army had the Van, should neither have Force or Counsels left sufficient to maintain it self. Therefore The flight betaking themselves to flight, they abandoned of the Assortions and their Camp by Night. As foon as Day once their Felbroke, and the Desolation in the Enemics Camp lows by was perceiv'd, Cyrus strait drew his Forces thither, Nights Wherein the Enemy had left many Sheep and Beeves, befides many Waggons laden with Provisions. Moreover, the Medes also, who were under M 4.

Book IIII. Life of Cyrus the Great.

under the Condust of Cyaxares, all passed over

and dined in the Enemies Camp. Which once over, Cyrus having affembled the Officers of his Cohorts, spake to them after this manner. What, and how great (my Souldiers) are the Favours which Heaven hath vouchsafed us? For ye your felves see, that even an Apprehension of you hath put the Enemy to flight. But they who

have deferted a fortified Camp, how will they think you be able to stand their Ground, when

they see us in the Field? And they who could not bear the Shock, when as yet they had not tryed your Force, how will they sustain it now

that they are altogether vanquished, and reduced by you to many Straits? And they of whom the bravest are cut off, how shall their Resusebe able to dispute with you? Here one interposing;

Why therefore, fays he, do we delay the pursuit Cyrus conof them, when such Encouragements are fairly fults how to purfue offered us? To whom Cyrus; We stand in need the Eneof Horse for that Matter, says he; For the choimy.

cest of the Enemy, and whom it would be most advantageous to cut off or surprize, are retired with their Horse. Those indeed by the Gods Affishance we may put to flight, but we are not

able to take Prisoners in the pursuit. Why therefore, thy they, do you not repair to Cyaxares, and consult him in the Matter? Do you all therefore, fays he, attend me together, that he

may understand these Motions are with the good liking of us All. They all then attended Cyrus, and presented to him what they thought

was convenient, upon this Occasion.

Cyaxares

Cyaxares, partly because he somewhat envied what Advices first came from them, partly because he thought he should do better, not to expose himself again to Hazard (for he then indulged his Pleasure, and many of the Medes feemed to do the fame) answered them in this manner. Among other People, O Cyrus, espe-Cyaxares is cially you Persuans, as I have both heard and of Opinion against the seen, make it your Aim to avoid the immode- Chace. rate Use of all Pleasures; But for my part, it feems to me more expedient, that in the free Enjoyment of the greatest Pleasures, every one should shew a Moderation. But what greater Pleasure can arrive to us at any time, than that of good Fortune? Which proves to be our Case at this Time. If therefore, when good Fortune smiles upon us, we wisely maintain the same, we may perchance grow old in Happiness without intermission. But if what we enjoy affords

tune in all its shapes, take care, that that be not our Fate, which is of many that put to Sea, who, transported with their good Luck, make no end of fayling till they are loft. And so in like manner, it fares with many Conquerours, who,

us no satisfaction, but we go to pursue good For-

greedy of new Victories, at length come to lose their share in the old. For if our Enemies that are o'er-run were fewer then we, it might perhaps

be safe to pursue a less Number; but I would have you to consider well, with how small a part of them we all encountred in fight successfully.

Those of them who never fought, if we force them not to fight, through inexperience and floth, will retire without knowing what either

wc.

Xenophon's Institution and Book IIII we or themselves are able to do. But if they

esteem themselves in no less danger in their retreat, then if they fought, beware lest you press them to behave themselves with greater bravery than they intended. For you cannot imagine that you are more ambitious of taking Prisoners their Wives and Children, than they are of preferving them from being taken. For even wild Hogs, when once you have fet fight on them, haste away with their Young, be their Herds never fo great: But let any one of their Young be hunted, and the Dam, though she be single, will turn back and push the Hunter. Now while we are under Covert, they give us the Opportunity of drawing forth, as out of a Store-house, and engaging them with such Bodies as we think good; but if we shall encounter them in open Field, and they dividing their Force, shall hem us in, partly on the Front, as it hapned even now partly on the right and left Wing, and part-

ly in the Rear, beware lest each of us have occafion for many Eyes and Hands at once. Besides,

fays he, indeed I would not oblige the Medes,

who are indulging their Pleasures, to enter upon so hazardous a March. Which Words Cyrus

taking hold of. You would oblige none of them, fays he, but permit me those at least for this Service, who would be Volunteers. Perchance our return may pay its thanks to you, and the rest of your Friends. For we purpose not to purfue the gross of the Enemies Forces, for what axares.

means have we to come up to them. But if we meet with any Straglers from the main Body, lagging behind, as tired in the March, those we

may

Book IIII. Life of Cyrus the Great.

may return with to you. And even you your self are to bear in mind, how long a march we undertook at your intreaty, that we might perform a thing acceptable to you. It is but just therefore that you gratifie us so far in return, that we our felves may have some Profit of our Journey, and may not all have an Eye to your Coffers. To which Cyaxares; If any one, says he, of his own free Will be inclined to follow thee, you have my leave to draw him out. Send therefore some one of your trusty Fellows to represent your Pleasure. Come on slays he, whomsoever of these you have a mind to, take him. There was by chance a Mede present, who sometime had given out, that he was Cyrus's Coufin, and had been so saluted by him. Cyrus therefore forthwith, This Man (fays he) suffices me: He has good leave (fays the other) let him follow you. And do you (fays he) proclaim to all, that whoever will, may go with Cyrus. Cyrus therefore embracing his Men, upon his being drawn out, strait said, Deal now ingenuously, did you speak truth, when you said the very fight of me fed you with a secret Pleasure? Surely, faid that Mede, I will never leave you, fince you put me in mind of that. Then added Cyrus: Will you take care to represent this, to move the rest of your Companions? He calling fove to witness, Most certainly, reply'd he,till I have effected what will make me welcome to you. When therefore he had offered very readily many Encouragements to those Medes that were detached by Cyaxares, he added among other things, that he would never be wanting to fo brave

Cirus his fly Artifice, to cheat Cybrave and very lovely a Person; and, which was above all, to one descended from the Gods.

While these things were managed thus by The Hyrcantans Embaffy to Cyrus.

Cyrus, it fell out, not without a Divine Providence, that Embassadors appeared from the Hyrcanians. Now the Hyrcanians are a People bordering upon the Assyrians, a Nation indeed of no great extent. For which cause they were subject to the Assyrian Yoke, but yet good Cavalry they ever were esteemed, and are so still. Wherefore the Assyrians made use of them in the same Nature, as the Spartans of the Scirites, employing them conftantly in all Fatigues and desperate Services. And at this very time they had it in charge, to bring up the Reserve, which made us to the number of about a thousand Horse. So that if any Danger prest them in the Rear, they were to receive the Shock. And these Hyreanians, who marched in the Rear, brought up also their Carriages and Families in the Rear. For many of the Asiatick People in their Expeditions use to carry their whole Families along with them, which Custom the Hyrcanians also observed in this very Expedition, when it came to their Minds, what they had suffered from the Assyrians, whose Prince was now lost, themselves vanquished, their whole Army in great Apprehensions, their Allies weakned and dispirited: As they weighed these things with themselves, they thought a fair Opportunity offered in this time of general Defection, for Cyrus his Forces together in Conjunction with them, to Charge the Enemy. They fend therefore their Embassadors before to Cyrus, to

whole

Book IIII. Life of Cyrus the Great. whose Name the Fight had given an extraordi-

nary Reputation. They that were employed, thus represented to Cyrus the Justice of his Hatred to the Affyrians, and that if he would indeed attaque them at present, they would be both his Guide and Companions in such an Expedition: They also remembred him, in what Posture the Affairs of the Enemy were at prefent, omitting nothing which might encourage him to undertake the Expedition. But Cyrus demanding of them, Whether, says he, do ye think, that we may yet be able to reach them before they are got into their Holds? For we reckon this no less than a great overthrow, that they have so secretly stole from us. These things he faid to confirm them in their Confidence in him. To which they replyed, that it was feifible even the next day to overtake them, if upon the approach of the Morning they held themselves ready to march; For that the Enemy advanced flowly, by reason of their Numbers, and their Carriages, and because they had watched the foregoing Night; therefore they could make no great Progress in their Removes. Have ye cryushis therefore, fays he, any Pledge to affure us of League your Fidelity, by which it may appear to us, with the that you have been just in what you have re- Hyrcaniported. We will forthwith, fay they, upon our ans. departure, return you Hostages this Night. Do you only, calling the Gods to witness, plight us your Faith, and joyn your right Hand with ours, that those Assurances you have given us, we may transmit to others. With these Rites he plighted his Faith, upon their Performances of what

Several

of the

Grounds

to ferve

Cyrus.

what they promised, that he should esteem them in the Rank of his Friends and trufty Allies, nor should then be of less value with him, than either his Perfians, or the Medes themselves. And at this very instant, we may discern that his Faith is kept with the Hyrcanians, and that they are no less admitted to Commands, then those that appear qualified among the Medes or Persians.

Cyrus drew out his Forces, after their Repall,

by break of Day, and ordered them to wait the coming of the Hyrcanians, that so they might march in Conjunction. Strait all the Persians, as it became them, drew out, and the like did Tygranes with his Forces. Of the Medes some drew out, because in their Youth they had begun Medes Inclinations

a Friendship with Young Cyrus; others from their Acquaintance with him, and his Behaviour, which they admired, from their Converfations with him in his Huntings. Others out of Gratitude to him, for freeing them from their Fears. Others, from a Hope they had conceived, because Cyrus lo evidently excelled all Men in Vertue; therefore also in time he would be very Great and Fortunate. Others, because they would be something grateful to him for his Favours shewed on them in his Education among the Medes. Many truly for the many good Offices his Goodness had done for them, with his Grandfather. Many also, because they faw the Hyrcanians, and a Fame was spread abroad, that these were to shew them the way to the best of their Spoiles, for that very reason

went, that they might get by their Journey. So

it was, that almost all the Medes presented them-

selves,

Book IIII. Life of Cyrus the Great. selves, excepting those that perhaps were lest in Cyaxares his Pavilion. For these, with those under their Rule stayed behind. All the rest with willing and cheerful Minds marched off, as those who were not compelled to offer their Services, but moved from their own free Will, and a Desire of obliging. But when they now set forth, he first adressed to the Medes, and having commended them, he intreated the Gods to fayour them, and them he intreated to be his Captains. Then, that he might return them his

Acknowledgements for their Endeavours, He ordered the Foot to march before, and them to follow after with the Horse. And accordingly as the Army lodged, or was posted in their Marches, he ordered that Courriers should arrive to

give them advice from time to time, what Meafures they were to take upon every Occasion. After this, he ordered the Hyrcanians to lead the way. But they demanding, Why do you not

flay, fay they, till we return you Hostages, that lo you may proceed with Assurance of our Fidility? To which Cyrus is faid to have made An- Cyrus his

fwer, I truly am of Opinion, that we have Se-brave Hecurities for your Fidelity in our own Hearts and Hands: For we think our selves sufficient, that we have abundant means in our own Power to recompence you, upon Experience of your Truth: or if you use Deceit, we take our selves to be of that Ability, that we are not in the least at your

Mercy, but you rather at ours, if it so please the Gods. And for the Hyrcanians, because you have told us they march in the Rear, as foon as you shall discern them, signific to us that they

are

Book IV. Life of Cyrus the Great.

are your Countrymen, that they may taste our Mercy. The Hyrcanians having heard this, marched before to lead the way as Cyrus had ordered, having the Greatness of his Soul in Admiration, nor were they any longer in Apprehensions either of the Assyrians, the Lydians, or the Allies of these, only of this, lest Cyrus by any means should esteem them of no Importance,

whether he had their Assistance or not. Now when they marched, and that Night came on, it seemed to Cyrus and the Army, that a great Light as it were from Heaven opened to them, which humbled them to a Veneration of the Deity, and raifed in them a Confidence towards their Enemies. And because it is but just to believe, that considering the Dispatch and Expedition of their March, they had proceeded a great way, they were together with the Evening not far removed from the Hyrcanian Troops. This when their Courriers once difcovered, they brought News to Cyrus, that those were their Countrymen. This too hehimfelf might be able to judge of, both because they were posted in the Rear, and from the blaze of their Fires. Then he dispatching one of thele to them, ordered him to tell them, if they were indeed his Friends, they should strait prefent themselves all with their right Hands raised alofe: Some also of his own he joyned with them, to whom he gave in charge, that they should let the Hyrcanians know, that he and his should demean themselves towards them, as they saw them enclined towards them. Thus one Messenger of theirs remained with Cyrus,

at the same time another was dispatch'd to the Hyrcanians.

But in the mean time, while Cyrus was to expect what Measures the Hyrcanians would take, he ordered the Army to make a Halt. Then Tygranes and the Princes of the Medes being brought to him, he demanded what was to be done. To whom he spake thus; This next, says he, is the Troop of Hyrcanians, to whom one of the Courriers is dispatch'd, and together with him some of ours, to signific to them, that if they are our Friends indeed, all of them should meet us with their right Hands lifted upon high. Wherefore, if they accord to this Condition, let every one of you in his Place, embrace them with your right Hands, and so give affurance to them. But if they should make ready their Arms, or prepare for flight, let it be your Endeavours that none of these Enemies escape. To this Effect were Cyrus's Commands. In the mean time, upon hearing the Courriers, the Hyrcanians were filled with Joy; and getting up nimbly on their The Hyr-Horses, presented and stretched out their Hands canians for the Signal, which the Medes and Persians pass over in return, receiv'd them with their right Hands, to Cyrus and gave them. Afternoon. Them Can have his Camp. and gave them Assurance. Then Cyrus; We truly, fays he, have a Confidence in you Hyrcanians, and it becomes you in like manner to have the same in us. But acquaint us, in the first Place, how far is the Place off, where the Headquarters and entire Forces are? They replyed, that the distance was somewhat greater then a Mile from thence. To which Cyrus; Go you then, lays he, ye Persians, Medes, Hyrcanians, (for now even

even you also I style my Friends and Allies) you ought to understand, that our Affairs arein fuch a Posture, as if we proceed remisly and with flackness, extraordinary Mischiess may betide us. For our Enemies cannot be ignorant of the Cause of our coming. But if pulling with all our force, we shall with due Courage and Bravery attaque the Enemy, they will strait appear · in the fashion of Slaves and Fugitives, who are found, some to turn Supplicants, others to run away; others not to have so much Resolution left them as to run. For the vanquished will behold us, e're yet they can persuade themselves into a belief of our coming. They will be furprized in no Martial Order, and wholly unprepared to fight. Wherefore, if we will fup sweetly, and give this Night to our felves, and live afterwards, we must not leave them any leisure, either of consulting or of providing ought that they may have occasion for; nay, nor indeed of fo much as reflecting that we are Men, but rather that they may imagine, that hurdles, and hunting-Spears, and Axes, and Strokes, and Wounds are their Lot. And for you, Hyrcanians, said he, I would have you still proceed to keep your Order in the first Rank before us, by which means, your Cognifances being discern'd a far off, at a good diffance, we may impole upon the Enemy; But when I shall arrive where the Forces of the Enemy are, leave me a Band of Horse, which I, continuing with the Army, may employ as thereshall be Occasion. But you, who are Princes, and old Commanders, proceed keeping your Ranks unbroken, if you are wife,

lest whilst you spread wide against the gathered Forces of the Enemy, you should be forcibly repulsed. Give the Youth the Opportunity of charging and doing Execution on the Enemy: For at this time it will be our Security to permit very few of them to escape. But if that should chance, which fortunes to many by Custom, who bear rule, that we should master their Wealth, great Caution is to be used, how we apply our selves to the Pillage; For he who takes this Course, is not to be look'd upon as a brave Man and a Souldier, but a High-shoon Pedler; and whom every man ought to treat as a mercinary Slave. That Saying we always ought to bear in Mind, that Nothing costs so dear as a Victory. For he that is Master of the Field. sweeps all before him, Men, Women, Baggage, and the whole Country. In this Case there is only one thing to be observed, that we maintain the Victory, and that even the Pillager himself is kept within the Bounds of that. Last of all, I must remember you, that you desist from the Pursuit, and return to me before Day shuts; For when the Dusk once approaches, we receive none. This faid, he dismissed them all to their feveral Posts, and gave all in charge in common, that when they repaired to their Troops, each of them should communicate the lame to his Cornets; For the Cornets being posted in the Front, were capable of receiving their Orders. And every one of the Cornets they charged to report the same to those under their Command. This Order being taken, the Hyrcanians marched first, Cyrus with the Persians followed N_2

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followed in the main Body, while the Horse, as was fit, were disposed in the two Wings.

When Day once appeared, some of the Ene. mies were assonished at what they saw; Others were casting about what was to be done; Some were employed in Reports, others in Exclamations; Some turned their Horses loose, others were packing up their Goods; Some unharnessed their Horses, others harnessed them; Some leapt on

Victory obtain'd by Cyrus his flight.

Another

Cræsus his Escape.

Horse-back, others bridled their Horses; Some were stowing their Wives in the Waggons, Others were taking care to preserve what they had of great value; a third fort were burying their Treasure: but the greatest part betook themselves to flight. A great variety of many other Employments you may imagine them engaged in, excepting that one thing that noneof them fought, but were ruined without a stroke. Crasus the King of the Lydians, had conveyed away his Women in Waggons by Night, because it was Sammer, that so they might take their Journeys in the Cool; Himself followed after with the Horse. The same they report of that *Phrygian*, who ruled the *Phrygia* by the *Hellespont*. But when some of them perceived others to fly, and to come up to them, finding what was done, they also fled with all their Force The King of the Cappadocians, and of the Arabs, who were near hand, and fought without their Armour, the Hyrcanians killed. In like manner they that were flain, for the most part, were Assyrians and Arabs. For fince they were arriv'd at their own Country, they had marched very flowly. Whilf

Book IV. Life of Cyrus the Great.

Whilst the Medes and Hyrcanians thus played their Parts in the Pursuit, as you may imagine Conquerors use to do, Cyrus gave in charge to the Horse that were lest behind with him, that they should ride about the Camp, and if they law any armed men go forth, they should cut them off; and make Proclamation by a Cryer to those that kept within, that whatever Souldiers of the Enemy, that were either Horse, or Targetteers, or Archers, should bring in their Arms pack'd up, leaving their Horses at the Tents. This, whoever should fail to do, was to be punished with the loss of his Head: and that they should appear with their Hunting Spears all in their Hands in Order. Therefore, those of them that had any Arms, should commit them, when they were cast from them, into such a Place as Cyrus appointed, where they might be burnt by fuch as he had given this Matter in Charge.

But when it came to Cyrus his Mind, that they had advanced thus far without any Provisions Cyrus his for Bag or Bottle, without which, neither any Advice Expedition was to be undertaken, nor any thing about lavelle to be done; he cast about by what means he visions. could provide plenty of both in due manner, and with dispatch. He therefore reflected, that all Armies stood in need of some whose Office it was to take care that the Tents, and other Neceffaries should be still in a readiness for the Souldiers in their Marches, imagining therefore, that it was highly probable, that especially at the instant they would be found in the Tents busie in packing up their Goods, he made Proclama-

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2100

tion by his Cryers, that all the Military Purvey. ors should present themselves, and if there were no Purveyor there, in such case the eldest Soul. dier should come forth of his Tent, threatning very grievously those of them that should give no Obedience. They, when they found even their Masters to submit, forthwith paid Obedience. When they made their Appearance, he made them to be placed first, who had in their Tents more Provision than for two months. When he beheld these, he again ordered. that they should be placed, who had one months Provisions. Then, when almost all of them were placed, and he found this, he addressed to them in these Words. Come on then, saith he, my Hearts; Whoever of you have no love for your Sufferings, and are defirous to gain our good Will, take Order readily, that every one of you in your Tents, provide for Bag and Bottle more then double the quanity of your daily Provisions for Master and Servant; and see that all things else be ready whatever they are that belong of any kind to good eating. Because the Pursuers will strait be on their return, and will expect to find plenty of all Necessaries, I would therefore have you understand, that for the future, it will be your concern to accomodate them without any grudging. When they had heard these things, they used their best Endeavours to execute his Commands.

But Cyrus, affembling the Head-Officers of his Army, delivered himself to them after this manner. We know well, my Friends, that you have Liberty to go to Dinner before your Fellow

low Souldiers, who are gon upon Duty, and to solace your selves with your well-drest Dishes and Drinks. But I truly am of Opinion, that we shall not gain so much by our Dinner, as if it appeared that we took thought of our Fellows, or that our Feeding will conduce so much to the repairing of Nature, as it would, if we had more Confideration of our Fellow-Souldiers. But if we shall seem so much to neglect the Thought of them that are in Pursuit of, and doing Execution on the Enemy that runs, and in Dispute with those that make Resistance; that we shall dine in such haste, before ever we so much as understand how matters go, I fear much we may blemish our selves with an imputation of Baseness, and our Strength may come to be lesfened by the Straits of our Companions. But to take Thought of them, who undergo Fatigues, and expose themselves to Hazards, that they may not be unprovided of Necessaries upon their return; this way of Dining, in my Opinion, truly will make us much better Chear, than if we should address immediately to gratifie our Palates. This truly, I would have you bear in Mind, although you should entertain no thoughts of them, that yet nevertheless nothing ought to be shunned more by you then Ryot and Excess. Cyrus per-For as yet we have not compleated what we in- wento tended, but all being now on the very point of sparing a Precipice, call for our utmost Endeavours. For Diet, and we have yet an Enemy in the Field, in number abstinence. much superior to us, and yet at Liberty to act against us, over whom it become us to keep a watchful Eye, and to make use of them, that we N 4

we may not want those that may provide us Neceffaries. Our Horse besides are wanting, for whom we are in pain what may become of them, and if they return fafe, cannot subsist with us. Wherefore truly, in my Opinion, we are to make such chear at present, as every one in his Opinion may judge equally removed from the proceeding extreams of Sleep and Debauches. I know also full well, that in these Tents there is lodged good flore of Treasure, whereof I am not ignorant it may so fall out, that we make our selves masters as we please; so as still we share it in common with those that are Partners with us in the Spoil. But yet I conceive that it will not turn to so great Advantage to us, if we seize on them, as if we shew our selves just to them, by which means we may gain this point, that they may embrace us with less suspition then before. Besides, I am of Opinion, that the sharing of the Spoil is to be permitted to the Medes, the Hyrcanians, and Tygranes, upon their coming up to us; and if they should afford us a smaller share, even that is to be reckoned our Advantage. For these Advantages will invite them to flay with us more willingly. And for us truly at this time to have an Eye to our own Advantage, will procure us less durable Riches. Wherefore, waving these, let us provide our selves of that which Riches are built on, which truly, in my Opinion, may establish to us and all ours more lasting Treasures. Besides that, I suppose we have been accustomed at home to moderate the Pleasures of the Palate, and of excessive gain; that so we may conveniently taste.

Book IV. Life of Cyrus the Great. the Enjoyments of both, when Occasion requires.

Now upon what Occasions we can give an Instance of this Moderation, better then the Pre-

fent, truly for my part I see not.

This was Cyrus his Speech; to which Hystaspes the Persian, one of the Commanders of the first Rank, gave Approbation in these Words, to this Effect. What an Absurdity would it be, O Cyrus, if we, who to maintain the Chace, ordinarily abridge our felves of eating, in prospect only of the Prey, and that perhaps of no great value; and now that we are in Chace of Substantial Honour and Riches, if we should suffer any fuch things to be an impediment to us, as indeed are the impedious Masters over the base, but yet are in subjection to great and generous Souls: it ought not therefore to be once suppofed, that any thing which is so unworthy of us, should ever be imputed to us. In this manner Hystaspes approved the Opinion of Cyrus, to which he had the Consent of all the Rest. To which Cyrus added; Come on then, fays he, fince in this point the Opinion of all you is the same. Send every one of you out of his Band five men of the graver fort, who, riding about the Tents, may encourage them whom they obferve to make due Provision of Necessaries, and to reflect upon those that are remiss, with as little reserve, as if they had Authority over them.

Which things they did accordingly. But of the Medes, part lighting on the Waggons laden with Necessaries for the Army, which sometime fince past the Enemies Tents, after they had obliged

obliged them to return and come up to them, were carried in them. Part brought back to their Tents such Waggons as they had intercepted, with the finest Women, which being their lawful Wives, or their Concubines, the Souldiers had brought with them to the War for the sake of their Beauty. For the Asiaticks, when they enter upon their Expeditions, so undertake them even at this Day, that they take with them things of the greatest value. For they say for themfelves, that they are greedier of fighting when those things are in fight, which they hold most dear: as if a Necessity thereby was laid upon them of defending them with more Resolution. And perhaps the Case stands so indeed, or else perhaps it is so pretended, to excuse their Pleafures.

Cyrus, after he had been Witness of the Exploits of the Medes and Hyrcanians, seemed a little displeased with himself and his, that others at this instant seemed Superior to them in Vigour, and to make their Acquests while they lay out of the way of exercising their skill: For they who returned home with Spoil, having presented to Cyrus what they brought, marched back strait in quest of the Enemy. For which course they pleaded the Orders of their several respective Officers. These things, though they galled Cyrus, yet he reserved their Spoils in a convenient Place.

But summoning at length his Head-Officers together, when he had so placed himself, that what he said might be heard of all, he thus delivered himself. I suppose, my Friends, you read

flect of what importance it is for all the Persians to be accomodated with all Necessaries and we especially, as it is reason, by whose assistance all is gotten, if we truly would be Masters of what we see exposed to view; But by what means we Cyrus his may arrive to be Masters of the like Treasure, Contrifince we have not strength sufficient to acquire furnish out it, unless the Perfians had Horse of their own, Horse for I for my part understand not. For I would have the Persian you still to bear in mind, says he, that we Per-Army. fians are abundantly supplied with those Arms, with which, when we come close with the Enemy. we may be enabled to put them to flight. But when they once are put to flight, what, either Horse men, or Archers, or Targetteers, or Slingers, can we either cut in pieces, or take Prisoners, when we are unprovided of Horse for the Pursuit? On the other fide, who of them should fear to charge us, and with what Mischiess may they plague us, whether it be their Bow-men, their Slingers, or their Horse men, when they are asfured they shall have no more Annoyance from us, then from fo many rows of rooted Trees? Which things, when they are so, is it not plain that those Horse-men who were with you but now, will reckon upon all this Plunder as no less their own, then Ours? Nay perhaps much more

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if we shall provide our selves with Horse, not inferiour to theirs, will it not appear most evident to all; it may well be, that we may do against the Enemy without them, what we do only now with them, and that so we may expect them less

their own then ours; fince of Necessity this

was not acquired but by their Horse. Now then

infulting

infulting in their Behaviour towards us? Besides. we shall be in less pain, whether they give us their Assistance or not, if we of our selves alone can do our own Business without them. But to let pass these things; no man in my Opinion can be against this Proposition, but will altogether grant it, that the *Perfians* should furnish out their own Horse. But perchance ye may demand, by what means this may be brought about. Let us consider then, if we would be supplyed with Horse, what we are surnished with, and in what we are wanting. Horses we have good store of the Enemies in the Tents; Bits we have to manage them, and other things of which there may be need for the equipping them. Furniture too besides, this we want not for Horsemen, as Armour for the Back and Brest, to guard their Bodies, and Weapons which may be of use to dart or defend themselves. What therefore remains? It is plain, that we have need of Men, which indeed we have more then all. For Nothing is so truly Ours, as we our selves. But yet some perhaps will object, that we areundisciplin'd. But truly, not any one of them who are expert, before he was trained was expert. Perhaps it will be objected here, that they were trained in their Youth. Hath Youth therefore a stronger Inclination to follow what they are shewed and taught, than Men? Or after they have been taught, whether have Men or Youths abler Bodies for Exercising? Besides that, we have had Leisure and Opportunity to practice, which neither Youths, no nor all Men have at their command. For the Art of Archery

Archery is not now to be taught us, as to Youth, because we have been now long since acquainted with it; Nor the skill of slinging also we are no Strangers to it. Nor is our Lot the same with that of other Men, who have the Avocations of Husbandry, Trades, or Civil Affairs. But for us, we have not only Leisure to exercise the Military Art, but are oblig'd to it by Necessity. Moreover, in Matters of War, the case is not the same, as in many other things, which if they are gainful, are not without their Difficulties: For in a Journey, is it not more pleasant to ride than go a Foot? In Races, is it not more defirable to use dispatch, to meet a Friend upon Occasion, and in the Chace, to intercept Man or Beast in the full Career, according to Occasion? In bearing of Arms, are not any kind of them light and easie, when the Burden is the Horses and not Yours? Indeed, it is the farme thing to possess and wield them. But perhaps, what you are in most Apprehensions of, lest of Necessity we should endure the brunt of the Fight on Horse-back, e're yet we rightly know how to manage our Horse. If so, I must tell you, we are neither able Foot-Souldiers, nor good Horsemen; for this is not difficult to clear to you thus: For whenever we please, we may dismount and fight a foot: for having been taught the Difcipline of Horse-men, does in no wise unteach us the Discipline of the Foot.

This was Cyrus his Speech; which Cryfantas Chryfantas approving of, spake after this manner. Indeed, approves faid he. I so passionately affect being taught the of cyrus his Horse-mans Art, that I should fancy my self be- Measures.

come

come a flying Man at the same instant that I commenced an Horse-man. For hitherto I thought it sufficient, if in a Race I was able to top any man upon full Speed, or to command the Chace fo well, as to be able to prevent any wild Beast in its Career, by piercing him with Dart or Sling, before he could out-run me. But, were I once made a Horle-man, I would propose to kill a Man as far off as I could fee him, and to wound Beafts in the Chace, partly by coming up close to intercept them, and partly by shooting at them, as if they stood like Butts. For two fleet things brought upon full speed within a little distance of one another, want but a little of standing still together. From this Ground it is, favs he, that of all Creatures, I ever use to admire most the Centaures, if at least there were ever any such in Being; because they used their Reason like Men, and what they had need of they wrought with their Hands; and who had Strength and Speed to overcome in the Chace, and to subdue in Fight; which Qualifications should all meet in me, were I a Horse-man: The Reason of a Man to direct me, his hands to bear Arms, the Feet of a Horse to pursue, and his Back to bestride the Enemy. Nor will there be need to pinion me to the Horse, as the Centaures, though that be better than to grow to the Horse by Nature. For I truly am of Opinion, that the Centaures are in a fort Strangers both to many Pleasures which Art hath invented for Men, and which Nature hath allowed to Horfes. But should I e're learn to play the Horse-

man, on Horse back, I would lead the Centaures

Life.

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Life, and when I lighted off my Horse, I would choose to become a Man, and feed, and dress, and sleep like such a one; what other thing then should I prove at this rate but a Centaur, who could be thus artificially taken in Pieces, and let together again? In this respect indeed I should be superior to a Centaur, for he sees alone with two Eyes, and hears with two Ears; but I truly should have no less then four Eyes for Spies, and four Ears to take every Alarm. For it is faid, that a Horse will after his fashion tell his Rider the News of all what he hath seen and heard. Therefore set me down in the number of those that would be Horse-men, and the like said all the rest. To. which Cyrus: What say you then, says he, since this choice is wonderfully approved by us all? Shall we impose a Law upon our selves, that it shall be a disgrace for any Man whom I shall supply with Horses, to appear on Foot in any of our Marches, be the Journey either little or great; that so we may have reason to perswade our selves, that we are in all points Centaures.

This demand he no sooner made, then they all agreed to it; whence it comes to pass, that this very thing, even from that time unto this Day, is in use with the Persians: nor are any of the gentiler Persians by their good Wills ever seen as yet on soot. With these Discourses they were at that time taken up. When now, after Noon once was over, in came the Medes and Hyrcanians, and with them several Men and Horses Prisoners. For they put none of them to the Sword, who delivered their Arms. Upon their Arrival, Cyrus first demanded, whether all

touching

of them were fafe? which they having fatisfied him in, he then enquired after what manner they had behaved themselves? They reported to him their Adventures, and were not sparing to set forth with Embroidery their Bravery upon each Occasion. Cyrus, when he had patiently heard all that they had to fay, gave them Praises after this manner. It is very visible, says he, that you have behaved your felves with Bravery, we can read it in your Looks; for you make a goodlier, a more graceful, and fiercer Figure than before. He then demanded, how far they had marched into the Country, and whether it were well Peopled? They replyed, they had traversed the greatest part of it, and that they found the Country every were Peopled, and stored with Sheep, Goats, Beeves, Horles, Grain, and all kind of Provisions. Two things, says he, we are to have in Prospect. First, that we may have in our Power those that have all these in Possession; Next, that they may not look out for other Masters. For that Country which is Peopled, is sufficiently rich. and the same, if it be depopulated, wants even those Provisions which it hath. I understand you put those to the Sword, who stood upon their Defence, and it was well done. For this Course principally affures a Victory. But those that submitted their Arms, you made Prisoners Resolution of War. Whom, if we set free, we shall therein, I think, consult our own Interest. For first, we the Slaves. shall be in no Apprehensions of them, nor shall we keep any Guard over them, nor dress any Victuals for them; for to be sure we shall not starve them when we have dismissed them. Besides,

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Besides, when we have parted with these, we shall not want Captives enow for our Occasions. For if we possess our selves of the Country, we shall make all the People Captives, who will have more Reason to continue in our Service, and shew stronger Inclinations to obey, than to try it out on the Swords point, when they perceive these living, and enlarged. This is my Opinion; if any one judges any other Course better, let him propose it. They all allowed his Advices were fit to be put in Practice. Cyrus then summoning the Captives, spake to them in these Words; My Friends, Cyrus offers ye have preserved your Lives by submitting certain your selves; and if you demean your selves Conditions accordingly for the future, no Mischief will be- to the fall you more then this, that those who were Slaves. your Lords before, will not be so now; But you will live in the same Forms, and till the fame Land, and enjoy the familiar Conversation of the same Women; and so in like manner have your own Children in your Power as before. Only against us you may not employ your Armes, nor against any Other. But if any shall injure you, we our selves will right you with our Armes. But lest any should employ your Force, your Arms are to be in our Possession. Those of you that have submitted them, shall enjoy firm Peace, and the other Conditions we engage for, without any Deceit. And against as many as have not confented to lay down their Armes, we are now about to direct our Force to reduce them. But if any of you

Xenophon's Institution and Book IV. you shall come to us with an ingenious In-

tention of submitting your selves for our fakes to fuch Services as we shall appoint. we are ready to treat such not as Slaves, but

as Friends, and descrying well at our Hands. This I would have you take notice of, and report to the rest of your Fellows.

any of you prove more refractory, and refule to acquiesce in our good Pleasure, we shall turn our Arms against them, to reduce them

to Obedience to us, instead of our paying Obedience unto them. This faid, they made their Obeysance, and promised their Comply-

ance in all things.

Upon their Departure, It is time, fays Cyrus, O Medes and Armenians, for us all to fay, Necessaries we have provided for you, according to the utmost of our Ability. Go therefore, and send us half your Provisions of Bisker, since there is enough in the Stores layed in for us both. But Meat and Drink we have need to fend none. For of these we have sufficient provided of our own. And you Hyrcanians, wait upon them to their several Tents; upon their Men of Quality, to those that are richest in your Opinion, and upon the rest, to the most convenient for their Reception. And you your selves Sup where you shall think it most agreeable. For you have entire Tents for your own use, ready furnished with all Accommodations, as even they have. This both of you may take Notice of, that we shall keep the Night-watches at your Doors; all within the Tents is committed to your Care, and to be guarded

guarded by your Armes. For as yet they are none of our Friends that we have in our Tents. After that all things were ready, the Medes and Tygranes his Souldiers washed, and shifting themselves, went to Supper. Their Horses also had Provender and Litter; and they fent to the Persians one half of their Bisker, without any addition of Wine or Vichals; taking it for granted, that Cyrus his Men were supplyed with these, because Cyrus cyrus his had told them they had store of both; though Meat and

Hunger in Cirus his Language passed for Meat, Beverage.

as pure River-water for his Beverage.

Cyrus thus having supped his Persians, when the Dusk came, sent several of them, by five and ten together in a Company, this way and that way, with a charge to go and conceal themselves about the Tents; For he thought this might be of use, if any Strangers should invade them from without, or if any Thieves from within, that should attempt to make their Escape with their Booty, they might be apprehended, as indeed it fell out after. For both many attempted their Escapes, and not a few were taken. But Cyrus shared the Money amongst those that apprehended them; but appointed the Thieves to condign Punishment. By which Means it came to pass, that after this, if you would never fo fain, you should not find one idle gaping Fellow in a whole Night:

For the Persians, they lived after this rate. But the Medes caroused and made good chear, Cravares and even surfeited themselves with Musick and his Revels.

Revelling. Q_2

Revelling. For many of their things were rifled. fo as the Watch never wanted Employment Even Cyaxares their King, that very Night that Cyrus took leave, was Drunk himself with those in his Quarters, as if it were no disparagement: and thought that the rest of the Medes, a sew only excepted, had tarried in their Tents, because he heard so great a Noise. For the Domesticks. and menial Servants of the Medes, upon the go. ing away of their Masters, drunk and roared very jovially for they had newly fent them Bottles of Wine, and several good things from the Assyrian Army. But when it dawned, and none appeared to make their Court besides those that supped with him, and that he heard the Tens were stript naked of the Medes, and Men of Quality, and that he walked out to make a Discovery of it himself, then he stamped and raged against Cyrus and the Medes, for going away and leaving him alone. And immediately gave or-

Cyaxares roulnels.

der, as he is reported to be very fierce and brutish, to one of the By-standers to take a Party of his barba- Horse with him, and with all speed to find out the Troops that followed Cyrus, and let them know. I little thought Cyrus would so ill have consulted my Interest; But if those were Cyrus his measures, he less expected it from the Medes, that they should quit his Service, and leave him alone Therefore now let Cyrus recall his if he thinks good, but if not, let the Medes not fail to give Attendance in all haste. This he gave in Charge to them. But he, who had this Expedition in Charge, replied, My Liege, Which way shall I find them? Which way, faid Cyaxares? the same

way

way that Cyrus with those in his Train has found them against whom he is marched; For truly, said he, I have been inform'd, that several of the Hyreanians, who were Deserters from the Enemy, departed hence foon after their Arrival, to be Guides to Cyrus his Troops. Upon the News of which Cyaxares was the more incenfed against Cyrus, for not acquainting him with these things, for which cause he used greater Endeavors to recall the Medes over, ameans to weaken Cyrus his Force; which made him command the Attendances of the Medes under severer Penalties than before, not without mingling sharp menaces to the Messenger himself, if he failed to represent those things to them very pressingly. He marched strait with his hundred Horse, and seem'd to have no other Trouble but this, that he was not one of those that at went first with Cyrus. When they had proceeded in their Journey, and come where the Wayes parted, their mistake made them lose their Rode; so as instead of coming up to Cyrus his Army, they stumbled upon certain Straglers from the Affyrian Camp, whom they forcibly compelled to be their Guides. By which means, and the light of their Fires, they arrived there about Mid-night. But after they had arrived at the Camp, the Watch, as Cyrus had appointed, refused them admittance, till Day-light. Cyrus at break of Day, summoning the Magi, had given them in Charge, to select what was fit for an Offering to the Gods, for fuch great Successes, which they were engaged in this Affair, he summoned

moned his Persian principal Officers, and spake to them thus. Many Bleffings my Fellow. Souldiers, the Gods have heaped upon us. But we, O Persians, at this instant, are too sew to continue them in our Posscision. For if we leave the Fruit of all our Labours unguarded, they will fall to the Lot of others. And if we depute some of ours to guard our Acquests, our Strength that way will be weakned. Wherefore, in my Opinion, it will be best for some one of you to haste to Persia, and acquaint them with the state of our Case; and require Supplies from them with all Expedition, if ever the Perfians have a mind that the Strength and Riches of Afia should be in their Power. Go you therefore, favs he, who are the Eldest, and represent these things to them upon your Arrival. To which you may add, that the care will be mine of Victualling fuch Souldiers as they fend, after they have joyned our Forces. What Spoiles we have you see, and therefore keep nothing of that kind from them. But of which, what we shall make for the Presents we design for Persia, that we may be duly informed; for what concerns the Gods, confult my Father; and for what concerns the State, consult the Civil Magistrate. Let them also send us, as well those who may be affilting to us from time to time in the manage of our Affairs, as also those who may have an Eye and Inspection over them. Do you, therefore, fays he, prepare for your Journey, and take your Band of Men with you, to convoy you thither. After this, he summoned the Medes, when at the same instant Cyaxares his Messenger

Messenger was arrived, and laid before them his Displeasure against Cyrus, and his Menaces of the Medes; and told them in the Close, that Cyaxares his Will was, that the Medes should return, although Cyrus his Intention was to keep the Field. Which Words of the Messenger, the Medes received with Silence, as not being able to determine how to avoid his Summons, and yet as ignorant through Fear, how to comply with his Threats; being so well acquainted with the Cruelty of his Nature. But Cyrus stepping in. I admire not at all, says he, O Messenger, and you Medes, that Cyaxares is so full of Apprehenfions for us, and for himself; when at the fame time he knew our Enemy was numerous, and knew not how we might succeed. But when once he understands, that many of the Enemies Forces are cut off, and even all of them put to flight; first, he will lay aside his Fears, and next, he cannot but own, that he is in no wife abandoned, because his Friends have cut off his Enemies. And what Right hath he to complain of us, that deserve so well from him; and when we truly have done nothing rashly of our ovvn Heads? For I truly did persuade him to permit me, that you should joyn me upon my departure, and you, as not ambitious in the least of the Expedition, asked his Consent, vvhether you should dravy out or not, and so arrived hither; nay, as many had his Command to march off, as vvere not displeased with my Motion; Wherefore the Displeasure he hath conceived, I am very confident, vvill be mitigated vvith our Success; and vvhen he finds his Fears

Cyrus his discreet Cyaxares: his McIlenger.

Fears are Vain, will vanish together with them. And for your part, O Messenger, since you are Answer to so far spent with your Journey, repote your self a while, we Persians, because we have an Enemy in present Prospect, either to dispute it with us. or gain the Power over us, keep our Ranks in Battalia. For if we keep that Course, we may possibly the sooner effect what we Design, you therefore, O Prince of the Hyrcanians, give out your Orders to the Commanders of your Forces. with a strict Charge to their Men to take Arms to cover us. Which being done, when the Hyrcanian presented, Cyrus said, It is very pleafing to me, O Hyrcanian, to observe, that you not only appear with us, to evidence your Friendship in Fact, but also give us large Testimonics of to tharp a Wit as you are Master of, which at this time is very clearly of no small Advantage to us. For though the Affyrians are indeed my Enemies, yet now they are more implacably Yours, than Mine. Wherefore we are both of us to consult our interest so, that none of our Allies who have now joyn'd us, may fail, but rather that we may have yet more Forces if posfible to joyn us; But you have understood but now, that this Mede recalls his Horse, who if they quit our Service, what Means have we to keep the Field, that confift only of Foot? This therefore remains to be done on your Part and mine, to dispose even this very Man who recalls his own Men, to tarry himself with us. Do you therefore pitch on some Tent to assign him, where he may live with Convenience, and want no Accommodations which he may have Occasion

fion for; and I in the mean time will make it my Business to find our some Employment for him, which he may be encouraged to accept of, rather than return home. Do you besides Discourse him, of those Advantages which may fairly be supposed in Prospect, if things be duly managed as they ought; when this is done, return to me again. The Hyrcanian then went to conduct the Mede to his Tent, and he that was ordered for Persia, was by, ready fixed for his Journey. And Cyrus had given him in charge to report to the Persians what he had represented in the fore-going Speech; and to give his Letters to Cyaxares. But fays he, I will make Repetition to you, of all that I have written: that lo you may know my Mind and express it, if any shall make enquiry of it: this was the Tenor of his Writing. Cyrus to Cyaxares Geeting. Cyrus his We left you not naked, fince no Man can be Cyaxares. faid to be left of his Friends, that hath his Enemies vanguished by them, and since we lest you not in our Opinion exposed to any Hazards: for the greater the Distance is we are removed from you, so much the stronger Wall we conceive we are about you. For they that are idle within the Reach of their Friends, render them not the more secure by their Neighbourhood; and they that are removed farthest from them engage their Enemies, so as to get them out of the reach of Danger, abandon them not at the greatest distance. Weigh therefore with your self the Experience of my Behaviour to you, and compare it with your Returns to me, when you make complaints against me. I truly joyn202

ed your Force with the largest Supplies I could. and fuch as were moved by no Intreaties of yours, while you, when we were upon good Terms. allowed me only so many as I could prevail upon by my persuasions; and now that I am sat down in an Enemies Country, you recall not only those that are disposed to leave me, but even all of them at once. As Matters flood then, truly I conceived my Acknowledgments were due to you, but now you constrain me to forget you, and to endeavour the whole return of my Acknowledgments to them that took their Fortune with me. But I can by no means force my felf to be like you, but having at this instant dispatched a Messenger into Persia for Supplies. I have given him in Charge, that as many of them as come for my Recruits, if you haveany Occasion to employ them before they joyn me, shall be at your Service, not of their own choice. but to make use of at your own Discretion. Only let me give you this Advice, though I am younger than your felf, that you withdravy not those Forces which once you granted, that we may not ovve you ill Will in the Place of Acknovvledgments; that you summon not with Menaces such as you would have kept home, nor fay that you are abandoned, and be so liberal of your Threats upon all occasions, lest in Conclusion you teach yours to dispise and set you at nought. We for our Parts shall not be wanting in our Endeavours to visit you, at such time as we have perfected our Affairs; the perfecting of which we conceive vvill in the end prove of equal Advantage to You and Us. Farewell. This

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This Letter deliver into his Hands, and if he question you about any of the Contents, satisfic him that it is as the Letter states it. And the like Charge I give you in relation to the Persians. that my Letters will clear all things to them. Having spake this, he strait dismissed him with his Letter, giving him in charge over and above, that he should use the greatest dispatch. fince he might be sufficiently sensible that a speedy return now if ever, might be of no small

Advantage.

After this he went to take a view of the Forces, that were drawn out, as well of the Hyrcanians as of Tygranes his Souldiers. The Persians too appeared very well Armed; for some of the Borderers had supplied them with Horse and Armes. Those that brought in Armes he ordered to bring their Javelins into the same Place as they had brought the rest before, to Burn them, for which he took this Order, fince now they had no more occasion for their Use. Those that brought in Horse, he appointed to attend them in the Tents, and to wait his Pleasure, till they heard further from him, summoning now the Horse Officers, and those of the Hyrcanians together, he made them this Speech. It ought not to be strange to you, Friends and Fellow-Souldiers, that you are Asfembled fo frequently, fince there arises at present new Matter, and many of our Affairs are not well digested. And what things are yet confused and out of place, will of necessity create Business, to marshal them and reduce them to their proper Place. You have taken much

parting the Spoils.

cyrus ista- much Spoils and many Men, and because we ken up in are ignorant which of these is each man's Property, and the Slaves themselves know not whom they may call their Masters, therefore not a few of them are busied, and almost all of them at a Lois, what they are to do in this Case; wherefore it is your part to make a due Distribution of our several Acquests. When therefore any one is Master of a Tent, which is sufficiently stored with Victuals and Drink. and Servants, and Bedding, and other Furniture, with the other Requisites which are convenient for his Military House keeping, such a one hath no need of any farther Accession, but only that He whose Lot this is, should understand, that he is to manage this as his own Property; But for those who lodge in Tents, that are unfurnished, after a due inspection, take you care to supply all those Wants. For I am not ignorant, that there is an over-pluss of all such Ncceffaries as they stand in need of, fince our Enemies were more plentifully stored with all things then we. There were with me some of the Treafury of the Affyrian King and the Princes, who spoke of some Gold ready coined in their Hands, and made mention of Tribute: Therefore require by Proclamation, that they should bring it all in to you, and threaten those that shall resuse to obey your Orders. And when it is paid in to you, let every Horse-man have double Pay, and every Foot-Man fingle; that they may be provided, if they are destitute of any thing, and have wherewith to purchase it. Let the Cryer, says he, strait forbid the Market to be abused

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by any, and let him order the Victuallers and Hucksters to make Merchandise of their Goods, and when they once have had a free vent for them, to import new; that so our Tents may not want a resort of People. This they forthwith made Proclamation of; But the Medes and Hyrcanians demanded of him, what means they had to make a due Distribution of all things, without the Concurrence of Him and His? Which Words Cyrus taking hold of, reply'd; Is that indeed your Opinion, that whatever is transacted we must still be personally assisting in every thing? Will it not be sufficient for us to act for you, and you again for us, as far as Occasion requires? What way is more likely than this, to have more Business lying on our Hands than we are able to dispatch? For pray observe, says he, We had these things in our Custody for you, and you repose a Confidence in us, that we have kept them intire; Do you therefore in like manner distribute them, as we shall repose the same Confidence in you, that vou make a due distribution; and we in return will make the same riddance for you in matters of common Concern. Take notice first what Horse we have with us, and what Horse hath been taken and brought Prisoners. If you leave them us so without any Riders, neither will they be of any use to us, nor shall we be excused the trouble of attending them. But if ye place Riders on them, by one and the same Expedient, you will diminish our Care, and add to our Strength. But if there be any others that you would rather present, and with whom you would

Cyrus ad-

the Persi-

Enemies

ans the

Horfe.

Cyrus his

would look Danger in the Face more willingly than with us, let them have your Horse. But if vises to beyou mean to have us affifting to you on all Oc. flow upon casions, let us have them. For when without us

you fallied upon the Enemy, and went to meet Danger, we were in no small Apprehensions for you; lest you should do otherwise than well, such were our Fears for our Friends, nor was our Shame lefs for our felves, that we fhould not be where ever you were. But if we receive your Horse, we shall be in a Capacity to attend your Motions, and if we shall appear of more use to you, fighting on Horse-back, we shall take our

Fortune with you, with the greatest Alacrity; But if we shall be esteemed of greater Service to you on Foot, it will be casic to light, and so strait to be in a Posture of assisting you on Foot,

while we confider into whose Hands we commit our Horses; Thus spoke Cyrus. To which

they replyed. We have not, O Cyrus, Riders to place on our Horses, and if we had, since this

is your choice, should we prefer any other Course to that which you have proposed. Therefore now accept our Horses, and pursue that Course

which you shall take to be best. I accept them then, said he, and so, which I wish may be

lucky to us, we shall Commence Horse-men; proceed you now to make Distribution of those things that call no Man Master. And in the first

place, select for the Service of the Gods, whatever opinion of the Magi, according to the Skill of their Profession, shall direct you. Then select for Cyaxares his

dividing the rest of Use what presents you conceive will render you the Spoil. Acceptable to him. They smiling replied, that

Book IV. Life of Cyrus the Great. they would call out the most beautiful of the Women-Captives to present him. Therefore, says he, make a Choice of the She-flaves for him, and what else besides you approve of. And after you have made this Choice for him, do what in you lies, O Hyrcanians, that all these Medes who freely offered their Service to follow me, may have no just Cause to complain; And be not you wanting also, O Medes, to honour and reward these our principal Allies, that so they may persuade themselves they had a true Sense of their own Interest, when they embraced our Friendship. Moreover, out of all these, award a Share to the Messenger sent to us from Cyaxares, nor only to him, but even to those that he hath here in his Retinue, and endcavour also to persuade him to make his stay with us, and possess him, it is with my Approbation; that so when he hath a right Sense of our Proceedings, he may report the true state of all to Cyanares. And as for the Persians who are here with me, what-

ever remains in Surplufage, after you are all well equipped, will be fufficient, for we have not been brought up very delicately, but according to our plain Country Fashion. And therefore we may perhaps make but a Comical Figure drest up in any splended Accourrements, even such as for ought I know we may make

unhorsed upon the Ground. After they had applied themselves to the part- Cyrus gives ing of the Spoil, not without laughing sufficiently several of the Slaves

fitting on Horseback, or perchance, as I guess,

at lo Comical a mention of their Horsemanship; their Free-

Cyrus doms.

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Cyrus, summoning the Officers of his Troops appointed them to receive the Horses and Horse. furniture, and Grooms, to such a Number as was in Proportion to the Poll of the several Souldiers, and as the Distribution fell by Lot to each Troop. He made also Proclamation by the Cryer, that if there were any Slave in the Army of the Assyrians, the Syrians, or the Arabs. taken by force out of Media, or Persia, or Bastri. ana, or Caria, or Cilicia, or Greece, or elsewhere, he should strait render himself; which Proclamation being made, many presented themselves very willingly. Cyrus having made Choice of fuch out of their number, as excelled in Beauty, told them they should bear Arms as if they were Freemen, and Arms he would bestow upon them, but they should take care to provide themselves with other Necessaries. After which, taking them to the Officers of his Troops, he recommends them to their Notice, and gave them in Charge, that they should give them Shields, and Swords, with which Accourrements they might be equipped for Horse-men, and that they should furnish them with Provisions as if they were his Persians; but that the Officers of the Troops should be compleatly armed themselves, and well mounted, and provided with Spears, which Institution he first of all begun to Establish And that each of them should in the Place of those Horse-Officers, substitute new Foot Officers,

Gobryos the while they were thus intent upon these Matters. Assyrian. In the mean time, Gobryas, an old Affyrian, comes owith his Retainers, all Horse, himself an Horsever to Cy-Officer rus.

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Officer too, presented himself. All of them compleatly arm'd with Armes for Horse. But they whose Post it was to take their Armes, required them to surrender their Spears, to be burnt with the rest of their Armes. Gobryas told them, that he would fain fee Cyrus first. The Officers then leaving the rest of the Horse behind, conducted Gobryas to Cyrus his Presence. He, when he saw Cyrus, turned to him in these Words, Sir, Itruly am by Nation an Affyrian, and Owner of a strong Castle, and intrusted with the Government of a large Territory, and used to bring into the Field a thousand Horse for the Service of the Assyrian King, and held no small Place in his Favour; But fince that truly brave and good Man fell in Battel by your Sword, and his Son, but my utter Enemy, is advanced to the Helm, I come to you, and present my self prostrate as a Petitioner at your Feet. I submit my self to be Servant, and Companion in your Wars, and Beg of you to Revenge my Injuries, and for that End, in fuch fort as I may, I adopt you for my Son, for I am without Children of the Male Line; For, Sir, the only Son which I had, Conspicuous for his Person and Vertue, Dutiful to me, and paying me that Regard, in paying which, any Son might truly make a Parent happy, Even this Son, He, who is now my King, demanded of his Father, who then was King, that so he might give his Daughter in Marriage to my Son, Cand truly I then parted with him, out of an Ambi-Uon

bryas his

Son.

tion to see him Husband to a King's Daughter) This Son, I say, He who now Commands as King, invited to the Chace, and gave him this Occasion of exerting his utmost Force in Hunting, as esteeming him a better Horse man than himself. He therefore followed, the Chace with him, as his Friend, but when the Bear was once in view, and both of them in Pursuit of him. he that now is our Prince let fly his Dart, but missed him, though I could wish it had not, while my Son, having cast his Dart, but too invidiously, layed him flat on the Ground. And then the Prince, stung with this, kept fecret his Resentments. But when a Lyon came in their way, and he erred again, which truly in my Opinion was no wonder, and in Conclusion, my Son with a more unerring stroke dispatching the Lyon, claimed to himself, that at two strokes, he laid one after the other proflrate on the Ground; then was it, that that base Man being able no longer to The Man-suppress his Envy, snatched on a sudden a ner how Spear from one of the Company, guided it to the Affiri- his Heart, and so took away the Life of my dear and only Son. And I, miserable killed Go-Wretch, in the place of a living Bridegroom, embraced a dead Corps, and old as I was, gave Funeral Rites to my Best, and best beloved Son in the Flower of his Age. But the Murderer, as if he had embrued his Hands in the blood of an Enemy, ne-

ver shewed any marks of Penitence, nor to expiate for so heinous à Fact, did any the least Honour to the dead Body. His Father indeed expressed Compassion of me, and gave out publickly, that my Calamity troubled him very near. Therefore, had he now been Living, I had never moved you with the fory of my Loss, for I had many marks of his Favour, and he had many good Offices from me in Return. But fince his Empire is devolved upon the Murderer of my Son, I can never truly profess any Inclinations of Service to him, and I am throughly convinced he never ranked me in the number of his Friends. For he is no stranger to my Sentiments of him, and, as before this, my Life was full of Plealure, so now this Loss requires that I fpend my Old Age in Sorrow; wherefore, if you will now Embrace me, and that through you there remain in prospect any Gobryas inhope of Revenging the Death of my dear treats Cy-Child, I shall look upon my self even to grow rus to reyoung again, and reckon, that I shall nei-venge the ther Live in Disgrace nor Dye with Grief. death of his Son. When Gobryas had spoke thus, Cyrus made Answer: If it can appear, my Gobryas, that your Sentiments agree with your Words, I truly shall espouse your Cause, and Promile you, by the Gods Affistance, to do Juslice on the Murderer. Say now, then fays he; If we should deal thus with you, and permit you to enjoy your Castle, your Land, your Arms, and that Power wherewith you P 2 WCIC

Xenophon's Institution and Book IV. were clothed; in lieu of all these, what Returns would you make Us? My Caltle, fays he, whenever you please, I will deliver to you, to enjoy as freely as your own, that Tribute, which I paid him for my Lord, you shall receive, and when Occasion presents to undertake any Expedition, I will follow your Standard with all the Force under my Command. Moreover, I have a Daughtely and a Virgin, who is all my Joy, of Marriageable Estate, Her, before this hapned, I had defign'd for the Bed of him that now is King; but now my Daughter has belought me with many Tears, that I would not think of marrying her to her Brothers Murde rer. A Resolution now no less my own than hers. Her disposal I freely commit to you, to advise me therein, no otherwise than it is Evident that I have fincerely advited with you upon these Termes. Then said Cyrus, I

my Heart, and take yours in Exchange; The Gods are witness between Us. Which done, he ordered Gobryas to keep his Arms and take his Journey, and having enquired the extent of his Journey, how far he was to Go; It, says he, You set forward to morrow early, the next day after you may be our Guest. Gobryas therefore departed, leaving his Guide behind him.

And now the Medas were resonnt having

fincerely give you my Hand, and with that

And now the Medes were present, having allotted the Magi what they had claimed to be reserved for the Gods; the fairest Tent

Tent they had referved for Cyrus, and the Captive Susiona, whom Report styled the. most Beautiful of all in Asia, and two very expert Minstrels. In the second Place, they referved the second Choice for Cyanares. Nor were they wanting to supply such others with what they were unprovided, that to they might not be destitute of ought in use for a Military Life; for there was great plenty of all things. The Hyrcanians also in like manner took fuch things as they had Occasion for; Besides which, they admitted Cyaxares his Messenger to an equal Share with the rest. But those Tents that remained in Over-plus, they presented Cyrus, for the Use of his Persians; The Money, they faid, they would distribute when they had collected it all, which too was afterwards done. These things, on their part, were faid and done; but what they had selected for Gyaxares his Presents, Cyrus ordered them to take into their Care and Custody, as well knowing them to be his Confidents. And for what you bestow on me, I receive it with a good Will, fays he; But each of you is at Liberty to use notwithstanding, which of them he most stands in need of. Then a certain Mede, that had a Genius to Musick, said, Truly, my Cyrus, as I in the Evening heard those Minstrils, which now you have, I took so great a Pleafure in listning to them, that if you should

bestow but one of them upon me, I should

flatter

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flatter my self with passing my Lise more pleasantly in the Camp than at Home. Then Cyrus replyed, I freely give her thee, and thank you more for your Suit, than it is possibly for you to thank me for my Gift, so great a Thirst have I to oblige all of you. And thus he that begged the Minstrel had Her.

The End of the Fourth Book.

XENOPHON'S INSTITUTION

AND

LIFE

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CYRUS the GREAT.

The Fifth Book.

Quid melius desidiosus agam?

S for Cyrus, after he had call'd to him Araspes the Mede, (who was his Companion from a Child, and to whom he gave his Median Robe at his Departure from Astyages unto Persia) he commanded him to keep for him the Woman and the Tent. Now this Woman was the Wife of Abradatus, the King of the Susans; but her Husband was not in the Field at the taking of the Tents of the Assyrians; but was gone on an Embassy to the King of the Bastrians.

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Book V.

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He was sent by the Assyrian to desire his Assistance in the War, upon the account of his being once a Guest to the Bactrian King. Cyrus therefore commanded Araspes to secure this woman till such time as he should be ready to take her to himself. Araspes, when he was bid do so, ask'd Cyrus, whether he had ever seen the woman whom he commanded him to keep? No truly, said Cyrus, not I. But I did (said Araspes) when I chose her out for you. And truly upon our first entrance into her Tent we did not know her: For she was sitting on the Ground with her waiting Maids all round about her; and her Habit was for all the world like theirs. But after we had took a View of them all, to see which was most likely to be the Mistres, she presently

The excellent Beauty of Panthea.

feem'd to excell all the rest, tho' fitting, veil'd and looking down upon the Ground. When we bid her rise up, all her Female Attendants rose together with her: But then it appear'd how she excell'd them all, first in Stature, then in Strength, Portliness and graceful Movement, tho' with the Disadvantage of a mean Dress. And then you might have feen her all in Tears, some trickling down upon her Cloaths, and some down to her very Feet. And when the Eldest among us bad her chear up, telling her, that altho' by report she had a very excellent Husband, yet we did now design her for one who was no whit behind him, neither for Person, Ingenuity nor Power; and that Cyrus certainly, (if ever any man) was in our Judgments most worthy of Admiration, whose the thould now be. As soon as she heard this, she rent her upper Garment, and fellaweeping; and her maids too cried in confort with

her: And here the greatest part of her Face came in

Her Ver-

view, together with her Neck and Hands. And now Cyrus, I must needs tell you, 'twas my Fancy, and the rest of my Fellow-Spectators, that there was never yet known, nor born of Mortals such another woman in all Asia. But by all means, says he. you shall see her too. Ay, but if she be such an one as you set her out, reply'd Cyrus, I have the less mind to it. And why so, says the young man? Because, says he, if now upon the bare Character of her Beauty, and not having over much Leisure, I whether should suffer my self to be prevail'd upon to go and Love can fee her, I am afraid she will much more eafily induce me to make her another Visit; and so in a their wills? while, neglecting my Affairs, I shall do nothing but fit and stare her in the Face. And do you think then (says the young man with a Smile) that there are fuch powerful Charms in humane Beauty, as to compell a man against his Will to do any thing which is not best? If 'twere naturally so, all would be compell'd alike. See (fays he) how the Fire burns all equally; and the reason is, because it burns naturally: But now among Beauties, some we love fome we don't; one loves this, and another that: For this depends wholly on the Pleasure of the Will: So that every one loves whom he pleases. A Brother does not fall in love with his Sister; but some body else does: Neither is a Father Inamourd with his Daughter, but some body else is. For Fear and the Law are sufficient to restrain Love. But if there were a Law made, that they which eat not should not be hungry, and that they which drink not should not be thirty; or that People should not be a-cold in the Winter, nor hot in the Summer: These are things which are beyond the Power of any Law, to make practicable by Men; because Humane Nature is apt

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to be overcome by these things; but to love is a thing altogether voluntary: every one loves what is agreeable to his particular humour, just as he does fuch or fuch a Mode in his Habit. How then comes it to pass (says Cyrus) if Love be thus voluntary that a man can't give over loving when he will? Have not I seen some weep merely through that Grief which their Love occasion'd, and serve those whom they loved, tho' before they were smitten, they thought it a miserable thing to be a Slave; and give away a great many things which they could not with any tolerable Convenience be without? Have not I known some wish as carneslly to be rid of their Love as of any other Discase, and yet could never free themselves of it; but were held by a stronger necessity than if they had been fast in Irons? And thence 'tis that they lay out themselves wholly upon those they love in many and fruitless Services; and do not so much as endeavour to disintangle themselves from the Evils which they suffer; but rather make it their Business to foment and keep alive the Flame. 'Tis confess'd (reply'd the young man) Men of degenerate and groveling Minds do as you fay: And thence 'tis, I believe, they are always as miserable men wishing to die; and yet when there are a thousand ways of departing this Life, they live on still: And such Men as these also are light-finger'd, and given to stealing: But whenever they do play the Thief, none fo ready, you know, as your felt to reprehend them (which argues you don't think they were under any necessity of Stealing)andtherefore you don't pardon, but punish them. In like manner beautiful persons don't force men to fall in love with them, nor to defire what they ought

not, but poor filly men are ungovernable in their Passions; and then they lay the Fault upon Love. But honest and good men, tho' they may defire to have Money, good Horses, and handsom Women. yet they can eatily abstain from all these things, so as not to meddle with them in an unlawful way. As for my own part, tho' I have feen this Woman, and take her to be a great Beauty too, yet you see I am still with you upon the March, and discharge whatver belongs to my Office. But perhaps (fays Cyrus) you went away too foon for Love to level a Dart at vou: For 'tis possible for a man to touch Fire, and yet not presently be burnt, and wood is not immediately kindled. And yet for all that I neither use to touch Fire when I can help it nor to gaze on Beauty. Neither would I advise you Araspes to let your Eyes dwell long upon a beautiful Face: For Fire indeed burns not unless you touch it; but Beauty kindles a Flame of Love in those that view at a distance. No Cyrus, says he, you may assure your felf, tho' I should never leave looking upon her, I shall not be so far inflav'd as to commit any thing unworthy of my self. You say very well, says he, and therefore keep her for me as I command you, and have a care of her: For perhaps the may be of great use for us at a convenient Opportunity. After this Discourse was ended they parted from each other.

But the young man, partly through the Sight of this Arafpes incomparably fair woman, partly because he had ob- in Love service her excellent Accomplishments, and partly also, with Penbecause he waited upon her, and perceiv'd his Service was acceptable to her; and withal, found her not ungrateful (as who in return took care of him by her Servants, that whenever he came in and out, he

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should

Book V.

should be handsomly accommodated; and if he happen'd at any time to be indisposed, he should want no Conveniencies) all this I say conspiring together he fell in love with her, which perhaps was no fuch great wonder: And so much for this.

Let us now return to Cyrus, who being willing that the Medes, and the rest of his Fellow Souldiers should abide with him chearfully and of their own accord. call'd together as many as he thought convenient; and when they were convened, faid thus to them, "I am " well assured (ye Medes, and all you that are here pre-"fent) that you took not this Expedicion along "with me, either for want of money, or for any "thoughts of doing Service herein to Cyanares; but " purely out of a mind to oblige and honour me, you " would hazard your Lives with me in these Night-Marches, for which reason I cannot without great "Injustice deny my self much indebted to you; but " yet methinks I am not at present in a capacity to requite you; which Iam not ashamed to confess: 66 But to tell you, that I will requite you in case you " tarry with me, indeed I am asham'd of that: For "that would look, I fancy, as if I faid it for that "very reason to make you more willing to stay with "me. Instead therefore of that I say this, That altho' in Compliance to the Command of Cyana " ares, you should go away from me, yet if I do a-"ny thing prosperously, I will endeavour so to do cit, that you your selves shall praise me: For I am "not now about to depart; but will be faithful to "the Hireanians, to whom I have given my Hand "in token of a League of Amity; so that it shall " never be faid that I have dealt treacherously with them. And as for Gobryas his part, who has gi-

" ven up to us the Fortifications, the Country, and "the Forces, I shall make it my Care, that he ne-"ver have occasion to repent him of his Journey to "me. Lastly, that which weighs most with me, is, "that fince the Favour and Good Will of Heaven "appears fo manifest in our good Success, we ought " to fear the Gods the more and be asham'd to go a-"way, and leave our Bleffings behind us. This is " my Resolution; but you do what you shall think "good, and tell me what you resolve to do: Thus far Cyrus. Then he that once claim'd Kindred with Cycus made the first Reply: I believe (fays he) you were no less design'd by Nature to be a King than the Leading Bee is in the Hive: For to him the Bees pay a voluntary Homage; and wherever his Abode is, there is the Court whither they all refort: And if he chance to take a Progress any whither, none of them all offer to desert him: Such an incredible Love have they naturally for their King.

After the same rate methinks these Men stand af- How Cyfected towards you, for when you went from us un-rus was to Persia what Person among the Medes either young beloved, or old was absent from accompanying you, till Astyages gave us order to return? And when you came again from Persia to our affishance we saw almost all your friends following you of their own accord. And again when you made an Expedition into these parts, all the Medes voluntarily followed you. And now you have such Influence upon us, that with you we can dare and be bold in the Enemies Country, but without you we should be affraid to return home, Therefore let others declare for what they will, as for me, and those under my Command, we will all abide with you, and fetching Supplies of Aa4 Courage

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Courage from your fight will indure any thing, and yield to nothing but the Indearments of your Kindnesses. After this Tigranes began. I would not have you wonder Cyrus at my filence, for my mind is not prepared for long Debate but to Execute whatever you Command. And then Hyrcanius. If you should go away, now yee Medes, I should say it came to pass through the spite of some ill Genius that maligned your growing happyness, For sure no man that Consults his Reason would turn away from his flying Enemy, or refuse to take his Arms or himself when he Surrenders both. Especially when we have fuch a Leader, who I verily believe would take more delight in benefitting us, then in Enriching himself. Then said all the Medes, You Cyrus lead us forth, and do you bring us home with you when you fee good. Cyrus when he had heard all this, made this Prayer. Grant I beseech thee Almighty Jupiter, that I may outdo them in kindnesses who honour me. After this he gave order that the rest having first placed the Guards, should take care of themselves, but that the Persians should dispose of the Tents, to the Horse such as were convenient for them, to the Foot fuch as were fit for them. And that they should so order things, that all those who were in the Tents should provide things Necessary and bring them home to the Ranks of the Persians, and furnish them with Horses ready for Service. But that the Perfians should have nothing else to do, besides Exerciling their Arms.

Xenophon's Institution and

And thus they pass'd the Day. On the Morrow, as foon as they rose they made an Expedition to Gabryus, Cy us himself being on Horse back with the Persian Horse who were now improved to the number of about

two thousand. After these followed a company of Men of the same number with Grated Irons and hunting Spears. And so the rest of the Army March'd on in due order. Cyrus also gave Command to every Leader, that they should tell their fresh Souldiers, that whoever of them should be seen behind the Bringers up of the Rear, or before the Front, or out of their Ranks in either Wing should be sure to be punish'd. The next day after, about Sun-set they arrive at the place where Gobryss was, and perceive the Fortification to be very strong, and that the Walls were furnish'd with all things requifite for their own defence. Besides they observ'd that a great many Oxen and Sheep were brought under the Works. Gobryas upon the news of Cyrus his Arrival sent word to him that he should Ride round about the Cattle, and observe where it was most Accessible, and that he should send some trufty Men in unto him, who should informe him of all they saw within. Cyrus therefore willing to see whether the Castle might any where be taken, or whether there was any deceit in Gobryas, rode round about it, and perceiv'd 'twas every way too well fenc'd for Access. And withal those who were sent in unto Gobryas bring Cyrus word, that there seem'd to them to be Provision enough within for an whole Age. Now as Cyrus was perplex'd to think what this should be, Gobryas himself comes forth to him, bringing all that were within out with him, some of which brought Wine and Meal, some drove Oxen, Swine, Sheep and Goats, and what other Provision of Victuals they had they brought it all out, fo that Cyrus his whole Army met with a very plentiful Supper. But Gobryas when he had brought out all his Men, bid Cyrus get in with as much fafe-

spies with a Troop of his own before-hand, at length enters himself. And when he was got in,

Gobrias entertains

holding the Gates open he call'd to him all his friends and the Captains of his Army. And after they too were got in, Gobryas bringing out his Gol-Cyrus and den Plate, Lavers, Pots and all kind of Ornaments, and a great deal of old Coin, and last of all his Daughter (who was of a goodly Stature and exceeding Fair, but in mourning for the Death of her Brother) spoke after this manner: I deliver up this my Substance to you Cyrus, and I intrust you with this my Daughter, whom you may dispose of as you pleafe. But we both are come humble Supplicants to you, I as before, that you would revenge the Death of my Son, and she now of her Brother. To which Cyrus reply'd, I promised you then to avenge your Cause to the utmost of my power, on condition you did not deceive me, and now fince I have found you true, I acknowledge my self bound to make good my promise. And the same I here promife to do for her. And as for your Money I accept it, and here give it all to this your Daughter, and the Man that shall Marry her. There is yet one gift more which when I have receiv'd from you, I will be gone. Which if you give me, I shall be better pleas'd then with all the Treasures in Babylon. Gobryas wondring with himself what this might be, and conjecturing 'twas his Daughter, ask'd him what it was. To which Cyrus repli'd I believe there are many Men who would not willingly be guilty of any impiety, or any injustice, or any deceit. But because no Body would ever commit Money, Power, Castles or lovely Children to their trust, they be dyefore

Book V. fore they are known to be what they are. But you by intrusting me with your Fortifications, your Treasures, your Power and your Daughter, which is worth all, have given me an occasion of shewing to the World, that I am one, that will neither be guilty of any Unkindness towards my Guest, nor any injustice for the sake of Mony, nor of any false-hood in not standing to my Covenant. Assure your self therefore that I will never forget this action of yours as long as I have any Justice in me, but will endeavour to requite you by doing you all the good I can. Neither would I have you doubt of getting fuch an Husband for your Daughter as is worthy of her. For I have many and good Friends, whoever of which shall Marry her will have as much Mony as you give, if not more. I would have you know there are some among them who will not respect or admire you one jot the more, for the Money which you bestow. And yet they now Emulate my good Fortune, and pray to all the Gods, that they may have an opportunity, of declaring to the World that they are as faithful to their friends as I, and that they would never yield to their Enemies, while they have Breath. Neither do they prefer all the Wealth of the Syrians and Affyrians and yours to boot, before Vertue and a good Name. Such Men as these I affure you are here with me. To this Gobryas Smiling, pray Cyrus will you tell me where these Men are to be found, that I may beg one of them of you for a Son-in law. You need not, reply'd the other, inquire this of me, but if you will go along with us, you shall

Life of Cyrus the Great.

be able to shew every one of them to another. This said, he took Gobryus by the hand, and went out, with all his Retinue. And when Gobeyus

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Persians.

was mighty earnest with him, to Sup with him, he refused, and Supp'd in his Tent, and took Gobrow to Sup with him. Where as he was fitting on his Bed of Straw, tell me Gobryas, fays he, do you think you have more Beds then me? No truly, reply'd Gobryas, I am fure you have most Beds, and your House is much larger then mine, for all Heaven and Earth are in stead of a House to you. And you have as many Beds as there are relling places upon the Ground. Neither do you make your Blankets of Fleeces of Wooll, but of the Branches of Trees which grow on the Mountains or in the Fields. Gobryas having never Supp'd with them before, and observing the Meanness of the Meat which was set before them, thought their way of Life was much The tempe- more Liberal then that of his own Nation. For no well rance of the Disciplin'd Persian seems any more concern'd at the fight of any Meat or Drink, so as in the least to forget what is becoming, then if there were none at all before him. But as good Horsemen, because not disturb'd with riding, can look about, hear and discourse as they ride, so these think it fit to appear prudent and moderate at Meals, and look upon it as a Brutish thing to be affected or mov'd at the fight of Meat or Drink. He observ'd also that they ask'd one another fuch questions, which was more pleasant to propose, then not, and that they used such sharpness of Repertees which was better to use, then not, and that their jeffing was without any scurrilousness, filthiness or passion. But that which seem'd to him most observable was, that when they were in an Expedition, they did not affign any of them the largest Portion, who under-went the fame danger, but thought the best Banquet was to

have the stoutest and best Fellow Souldiers. But as Gobryas rose up, and was ready to go home, fays he to Cyrus, I now no longer wonder, that we have more store of Cups, Cloaths and Gold then you, and yet that you are of greater worth then we. For we make it our business to abound with these, and you to be as excellent as you can. Then faid Cyrus to him, see Gobryas that you come hither to Morrow-Morning with your Horse ready Arm'd, that I may take a Survey of your Forces, and that you may lead us through your Territories, that we may know what belongs to our Friends, and what to our Enemies. This faid, they went both of them to their respective places. Assoon as 'twas Day Gobryas was come with his Horse, and lead them the Way. But Cyrus as every Commander ought to do The Duty of way. But Cyrus as every dominated ought confi- a Good Ge-was not only intent upon his Journey, but confi- a Good Ge-neral repreder'd with himself as he went, whether there was sented in any way to weaken the Enemy, and fortifie his own Cyrus. Party. Whereupon calling to him Hyrcanius and Gobryas (for these he took to be most skilful in the things wherein he wanted to be inform'd) I believe says he, my Friends, I shall not miscarry in this War, if I use the Advice of such faithful Men as you: For I believe you ought to make it more your Concern than I, that we be not worsted by the Assyrians: As for my own part, if I chance to miscarry in this, I know whither to retreat; but as for you, if you be overcome, all that you have will be taken from you. He is my Enemy not for any particular Pique he has against me; but because he thinks it not expedient for himself that we should flourish; and that's the only reason why he makes War with us: But you he hates, and complains of wrong done to him

Life of Cyrus the Great.

him by you. To which they both made answers That they were apprehensive how the Case stood; and that they would make it their great Care how the Issue of the present Assair should be.

Cyrus adtaking to him more ossistants.

Then said Cyrus, I would fain know of you whether wifes about the Affyrian takes you to be the only Enemy he has,or whether you know of any other that is hostily affected towards him? Yes, replied Hyrcanius, the Cadu. stans are great Enemies to him, a very populous and warlike Nation; and also our Neighbours the Saci. ans, who have fuffer'd many Affronts from the Affrrian: For he endeavoured to subject them to himfelf as well as us. Do you think then (fays he) these two will readily combine with us to invade the Affyrian? Yes, say they, with all their Hearts, if they could but affociate with us. Why, what hinders? Says he, these very Assyrians, through whose Countrey you are now passing. When Cyrus heard this, said he to Gobryas, and have not I heard you complain of the intolerable Pride and Insolence of this young Man who now enjoys the Kingdom? Yes, fays Gobryas, I have had enough Experience of it. And did he behave himself so towards you only, or towards others also? Yes, says Gobryas, towards a great many: And as for those which he has maim'd and abus'd, 'tis in vain to go about to reckon them. Particularly one above the rest, who was the Son of a man of much greater Quality than my felf, and his own Companion too, whom, as they were drinking together, he took and gelded; and that because, as some report, his Miss commended him for an handsom Man, and magnified the Happiness of her that should have him for her Husband; but, as he says, because he had attempted the Honouse

Honour of his Concubine. So he is now made an Eunuch, and upon the Decease of his Father, has the Government in his own Hands. Do you think then favs Cyrus, that this man also would be well pleased to see us, if he thought he should have our Assistance? Yes to be sure, says Gobryas; but 'tis a thing of great Difficulty to come to the Sight of him. How fo? fays Cyrus. Because whosoever will joyn Forces with him, must necessarily pass along by Babylon. And what Difficulty is there in that? says Cyrus. Because, says he, I know greater Forces have been sent out thence than yours by far; and you must know, that the reason why the Assyrians do not bring forth as many Arms and Horses as they were wont to do formerly, is because your Forces feem'd very inconfiderable to those that saw them, and because they are so represented by Common Fame: And therefore in my Opinion 'tis best Prudence to march on warily. You say well, replied Cyrus, in advising us to march as safely as we can; But upon Consideration, I cannot think of a safer Cyrus de-Course, than to march on directly towards Babylon, liberates efince there lies the main Strength of the Enemy: For bout going to Babythat they are very numerous you your felf acknow- Ion. ledge; and if they once take Courage too, they mult needs be very formidable to us. Now if they should not see us, and think that we conceal our selves for fear of them, they will certainly shake off that Fear which was once upon them, and heighten their Courage in proportion to the time that we keep out of Sight: whereas, if we now march on directly against them, we shall find many of them bewailing their Slain, many binding up the Wounds which they received from us; and all of them bearing

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ing in mind the boldness of this our Army, and the Flight and Misfortune of their own. And you must know Gobryas, that 'tis natural for most Men when they are flush'd up with Confidence, to be very venturous and daring; But when they are once feiz'd with Fear, the more they are in multitude, the greater is their Dread and Assonishment: For their Terrour is augmented from the number of ill Reports, and falle Alarms, from the variety of fad Accidents, and from the multitude of dispirited and drooping Faces. Neither is it an easie matter to take off such a great Terrour with an Harangue, or to inspirit them with new Courage by the best managed Conduct: For the more they are exhorted to take Courage, the greater they suspect the Danger. This likewise is to be taken into Consideration, that if in War the greatest Number be sure to be victorious. you have reason to fear our Success; and indeed the Danger lies on our Side. But if now, as ever heretofore, the Event of the War be to be measur'd from the Valour and Courage of the Souldiers, you have more reason to take Heart and hope well: For by the help of the Gods, you will find there are more true Fighters among us than among them. And to encourage you the more, confider this also, that our Enemies are fewer in number now than they were before they were overcome by us; and that they are now fewer than when they ran away. Whereas on the contrary we are greater now than at first when we overcame; and more confirm'd in Courage by our good Fortune, and more numerous by the Addition we receiv'd from you: For I would not liave you any longer undervalue your own men, now they are ingrafted into one Body: For they that

that go along with Conquerours partake of their Courage. And you would do well to confider that 'tis possible for the Enemy to see us even as we are now, but we have no way to appear more formidable to them, then by marching directly against them. This then is my Resolution, and therefore lead on towards Babylon.

Whereupon they did accordingly, and on the fourth Day they touch'd upon the Borders of Gobrias his Country. Cyrus upon his Entrance into the Enemy's Confines, commanded as many of his Horse and Foot as he thought Sufficient to stand with him, in a ready Posture of Arms, and the rest of his Horse he suffer'd to fally out, commanding them to kill all that were Arm'd, and to bring the test with the Cattle that they took to him. He commanded also the Persians to fally out, many of whom return'd back having tumbl'd off from their Horses, and many with much Plunder with them. Upon the fight of which he call'd together the Commanders of the Mede's and Hyrcanians, and the Persian Peers, and thus bespoke them. "Gobryas (my Friends) "has entertain'd us with abundance of good things, "and therefore if after we have first set apart a con-"venient Portion for the Gods, and the rest of the "Army, we give the remainder to him, I think we "should do well, that so it may appear that we en-"deavour to out-do our Benefactours in kindnels. Affoon as this was heard they all applauded and consented to the Motion. But one more forward then the rest, say'd, let us do so Cyrus by all means, for I fancy this Gobryas took us for a company of Poor Fellows, because we did not come laden with Ornaments made of old Coyn, nor Drink out of Golden

Cyrus

Challen-

ges the

Ass_vrian.

Golden Vessels. But now if we do this, we may let him see, that men may be Liberal without Money. Go therefore and set aside what is due to the Gods and Sufficient for the Army, and give the rest to Gobryas. which was done accordingly.

After this Cyrus March'd on toward Babylon, have

ving dispos'd his Army in the very same order as when they ingage. But perceiving the Assirian declin'd to come forth, Cyrus commanded Gobryas to ride up and down and declare to them, that he would Fight with their King himself, if he would come forth and Fight for his Country. But if he would not appear in his Country's defence, they must of necessity yield to their Conquerours. Gobryas therefore went on towards them as far as he might with fafety, and told them the words of Cyrus. whereupon the Affyrians fent out one to him with this answer, thus says thy Master Gobiyas, It does not at all repent me that I kill'd thy Son, but that I did not kill thee too. But if you have a mind to Fight, come here again thirty days hence. But now we are not at leisure, because we are yet in Preparation for War. I wish, says Gobryas, thou would'tt always repent, because then I should be thy Tormentor from the first minute of thy Repentance. After this Gebryas return'd the Answer of the Assyrian, to Cyrus, who thereupon drew off his Army, and calling Gobryss to him, tell me, says he, did not you say that he who was gelt by the Affyrian would joyn himself with us? Yes, says he, I am

well assured of it. For he and I had not long ago

a great deal of free discourse together. Why then,

kays Cyrus, when you have a convenient time go you to him, and at first comply with him in every

thing

thing, and do as he would have you. But if after you have convers'd with him a pretty while you find him inclinable to Affociate with us, your next business must be to contrive how his siding with us may be conceal'd. For this you must know is a Maxim, That no one can do his Friend a greater kindness in War, then by being thought his Enemy, nor a greater diskindness to his Enemy then by seeming his Friend. I know, says Gobryas, that this Gadatas, would willingly even buy an opportunity of mischiefing this Assyrian King. But his ability must be considered as well as his will. Tell me therefore, fays Cyrus, whether you think that the keeper of the Garrison will admit this gelt man with his Forces into this Castle, which stands behither this Country, and which you fay was built to secure it against the Assaults of the Hyrcanians and Sacians? Yes without doubt, fays Gobryas, fince as: he is now he may come to him unfuspected. Why then, says Cyrus, he will be as little suspected if I Cyrus's make an Invation upon his Coast, as if I had a mind Stratato take it, and he feem to defend it to the utmost gem. of his power, and I take something that is his, and he take some other of my Men, or else those Embassadours of mine whom I sent to them, who you say are ill affected toward the Affyrian. And let those that are taken pretend they are going to the Army, to fetch Ladders wherewith to scale the walls of the Caille. Whereupon, let the Eunuch pretend hat he will go thither and discover the buliness. Well, says Gobryas, if matters be thus carried, I don't question but the Governour of the Castle will receive him, and Intreat him to stay with him till you draw off. But do you think (fays Cyrus) if he once get into Bb_2 The.

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the Castle he will be able to deliver it up into our Power. 'Tis very probable (says Gobryas) conside. ring what he may do by managing things within and you by your violent Siege without. Go then, fays Cyrus, and give the Eunuch his lesson, and when you have done, return hither again; but don't warrant him a closer League of Amity than you have with us your self.

Upon this Gobryas departed; the Eunuch look'd very pleasingly and chearfully upon him, and immediately consented to the Business. Cyrus having received Information from Gobryas, that they had made fure of the Eunuch, the very next day began the Siege. Gadatas the Eunuch made defence. Cyrus took those places which Gadatus order'd him to invade. As for the Messengers which Cyrus sent some Gadatas let pass, that they might bring a fresh Supply of Forces, and carry thither some Ladders; but those which he took he put to the Inquisition, in the Presence of a great Number of People; and when they had confess'd upon what Errand they were going, he presently preparing himself for a Journey, posted away by Night on a pretence of disclosing the Plot. At length his Report being credited, he got into the Castle in the Score of an Assistant; and at first indeed he affisted the Governour of the Cafile in what he could. But assoon as ever Cyrus was come, Gadatas takes the Government of the Cafile into his own Hands, using the help of Cyrus his Captives. Affoon as this was done, Gadatas fetting all things in due Order within, comes forth to Cyrus, whom, as foon as he had honour'd according to the Geremony then in use, Much Joy to you Cyrus, says he. I am very joyful, replied the other:

For you by the Favour of Heaven not only bid me rejoyce, but compel me whether I will or no: For I would have you know, that I look upon't as a great Happiness, that I can leave this Country to these my Fellow-Souldiers in a State of Peace: But as for your part Gadatas, tho' the Assirian has depriv'd you of the Faculty of getting Children, yet he has not took from you the Knack of making Friends. Assure your self therefore, that by this fingle Deed of yours, you have obliged us to be your Friends, who will in requital be so far assistant to you on all Occasions, that you shall find Son and Nephews in us. Thus Cyrus: And then Hyreaning, as foon as ever he had notice what was done, ran to Cyrus, and taking him by the Hand, How much am I indebted to the Gods, fays he, Cyrus, my best of Friends, that they have joyn'd me with you! But go your way, fays Cyrus, and take the Castle into your own Power, for whose sake you so embrace me, and so manage it, to the best advantage of your felf, the rest of my Fellow-souldiers, and especially of this Gadatas, who surrender'd it up to us. Shall we then, fays Hyrcanius, when the Cadustans and the Sacians, with my Citizens, are come call him too, that all of us who are concern'd may confult in common how to make the most of this our Castle? which Proposal, Cyrus liked very well. When therefore they were all conven'd who had the charge of the Castle, they agreed that it should be kept in common by those whose interest 'twas to have it quiet, that it might serve them for a Garrison in War, and for a Defence against the Assyrians. When this was so order'd, the Cadusians, Sacians and Hyrcanians, were much more forward Bb 3 to

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to List themselves together. So that from among the Cadufians, there was rais'd an Army of twenty thousand Target men, and about four thousand Horse, and among the Sacians, ten thousand Archers, and two thousand Horse of the same. The Hyrcanians also augmented the number of their Foot as much as they could, and made their Horse up two thousand. For before the greater part of their Horse was left at home, because the Cadusians and Sacians, were at eumity with the Affirians.

rianForrages the Country

But during all the time that Cyrus abode there, to order the Affairs of the Callle, many of the Neighbouring Affyrians brought him Horses and Arms. The Ally- because they now stood in sear of all Borderers. After this, Gadatas came to Cyrus, and told him that he was inform'd by Mcsengers that came to him, that ofGadatas, the Affyrian was mightily concern'd about the delivery of the Cassle, and that he was in Preparation to make an Incursion upon the Coast of Gadatas. Wherefore if you will dismiss me, Cyrus, I will endeavour at least to secure the Works, as for the rest no great matter what becomes of it. If you go now then, repli'd Cyru, against what time will you be at home? By the third day, fays Gadatas, I will Sup within my own Territories. And do you think you thall find the Affyrian there? Yes without doubt, fays Gadatas. For the farther off he thinks you to be, he will make the more haft. But how foon do you think (fays Cyrus) I can Arrive thither with my Army? You must confider, fays Gadaras, your Army is now swell'd to a confiderable bigness, and therefore you can scarce come to my Habitation in fix er feven days. Do you then, fays Cyrus, halten away with all speed, and I will march after as fattas I can Whereupon Gadatas went. Put

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book V.

But Cyrus calling together the chiefs of his fellow- Cyrus pre-Souldiers who now feem'd to be many and gallant pares to af-Men, made this Speech to them. Gadatas (my Fel- ras low Souldiers) has obliged us all with Kindness of a very high Nature, and that before he had received any from us. And now 'tis reported that the Affyrian invades his Territories, intending to revenge himself upon him, because he thinks himself very much wrong'd by him. And perhaps he thinks with himself, that if he should take no Revenge upon Revolters, and if those that adhere to himshould be thus continually flaughter'd by us, in a little time none will be on his Side any longer. I think therefore 'twou'd be a very commendable thing, if we did chearfully lend our affistance to Gadatas, a man that has so well deserv'd at our hands. This I think would be but a just Gratitude to him, and it may be a piece of felf-interest: For if Men once observe that we endeavour to out-do them in ill Turns that hurt us, and them in good Turns that oblige us, 'tis probable that we shall have many that will feek our friendship, and that none will much care to be at Enmity with us. But now if we feem to neglect Gadatas, with what Rhetorick shall we prevail with others to do us any Kindness? How Thall we be able to justifie our selves? How will any of us be able to look Gadstas in the Face, if we who are so numerous suffer him to overcome us in Kindness; and at such a Pinch of Necessity too as this? Thus Cyrus, to which they all unanimously agreed. Well then, fays Cyrus, fince all of you like the Proposal, let every one of us leave those with the Horses and the Carriages who are fittest to march with these; and let Gobryas head them, since

B b 4

How Cyrus ordermy to make thim more fit to march.

he is acquainted with the ways, and useful also for other Services: But let us, taking the choicest both of Horse and Men, and three days Provision, set our ed his Ar- immediately: For the less we incumber our selves. we shall Dine, Sup and Sleep the sweeter for these three days following: Now let us march in this Order. In the first place do you Chrysantas lead those that wear Breast-plates (fince the way is smooth and broad) having all the Captains in the Front; and let every Company march one by one after each other: For if we are close knit together in a Body. our March will be the faster and the safer. And for that Reason I would have those that wear Breast-Plates lead before, because they are the heaviest part of the Army. Now if the heaviest part go foremost, the lighter must needs follow with more case: But if the most expedite Part lead by Night, tis no wonder if the Army be sever'd: For then the forcpart leaves the other lagging behind. Next, let Artabazus lead the Persians, who carry Targets and Bows. Next, let Andramias the Mede lead the Medi in Foot; then Embas the Armenian Foot; then Artucas the Hircanians 3 then Thambradas the Sucian Foot: And after all these les Damatas lead the Cadulians. And let all these so lead, that the Captains of the Companies be in the Front, the Target-men on the right Wing, and the Archers on the left Wing of their respective Companies: For if they march in this Order, they will be the readier for any Service: Then let the Lieger-Boys follow with the Carriages, and let the Captains take care that they pack up all their things before they fleep, and that they are ready in the morning at the fet place with their Carriages, and so march in their

Xenophon's Institution and Book V.

Order. After the Carriages let Madatas the Persian lead the Persian Horse, having the Centurions of the Horse in the Front: And let every Centurion lead a fingle Company by himself, as the Commanders of the Foot do. After these let Rambacas the Mede lead his Horse, and after him do you Tigranes lead yours: And let the other Commanders of the Horse lead those whom they brought with them when they came to us. After these let the Sacians beled. The Cadusians, as they came last of all, so let them bring up the Rear: And these, Alcenna, I commit to your Conduct: And now let every Commander shew his Wisdom by marching filently: For every thing must be observed and done in the night more by the Ear than the Eye. Besides, there is more danger in having any Dilturbance happen by Night than by Day, and more difficulty in allaying it again. You must of necessity therefore be filent, and keep your Order. As for our Night-Watches, as often as we have occasion to move our Station by Night, we must make them as short and as frequent as we can, lest over-warching indifpose us for our March. When the hour of marching is come the Signal must be given by a Trumpet. And then let every one make ready what he thinks necessary, and be present in the way that leads towards Babylon. And let every one that goes before encourage him that is behind to follow him.

After this they went to their Tents, and as they were going they discoursed among themselves what a valt memory Cyrus had, in that if he had any con- Green's cem with any man he would speak to him by great Mo-But this Cyrus did on set purpose, as think-mory.

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Book V.

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ing it a great shame, that a Mechanic Artificer should know the name of all his Tools, and that a Physician should know the names of all the parts of the Body and of the Medicaments which he uses, and that a General should be so foolish as not to know the names of his under-Officers which he must make use of as Instruments, whether he be minded to take any thing or keep any thing, to encourage his Souldiers or to terrify them. Besides, if the should have a mind to bestow any Honour upon any one, he thought it very expedient that he should call him by his name. And again, he was of opinihis Souldi- on that those who thought themselves particularly known to the Prince would the more defire to be seen when they did any brave exploit, and abstain from what was unworthy of them with the greater abhorrence. He thought it also very unseemly that a General when he would have any thing done, should command in the same manner as some Masters of Families do at home, Go some body and setch me fome Water, and fome body go cleave the wood; For should he command after this manner, he thought all would fland looking one upon another, and no body would do the thing commanded. And that tho' they were all equally in fault yet no body would blush for shame, or be concern'd for himself in particular, because he had a great many to bear him company in his guilt. For these reasons whenever he commanded any thing to be done, he spoke

> This was the judgment of Cyrus, as to this. Now his Souldiers when they had Supp'd and placed the Guards and pack'd up what was necessary betook themselves to their rest. At Midnight the Trumpet

to them all by name.

Trumpet alarum'd them up for the march. Cyrus giving order to Chryfantas that he should stay on the way, at the head of the Army, fet forth with a small Guard attending him. In a short time after Chryfantas was come leading those that wore Breastplates, Cyrus gave him some to be his guides on the way and bad him march leasurely on till the return of the Messenger. For they were not all yet upon the way. He himself standing still in one place, bad every one as they came along go in his order, and if any lagg'd behind he fent one to him to hasten him forward. Assoon as all were upon the Way, he sent a company of Horse to Chrysantas to tell him of it, and that he should therefore march the faster. He himself riding on toward the Front, silently obferv'd their Orders, and whomsoever he observ'd to march orderly and quietly he rode up to them and ask'd who they were. And when he knew he cominended them. But if he took notice of any that made disturbance he examin'd the matter and used his endeavour to Compose the disorder.

There is yet one more Instance of his Industry cyrus his by night to be mention'd, which is, that he fent great Dilia few nimble Foot men before the body of the Ar- gence in my, who might fill be in fight of Chryfantas and marching be feen by him, that if any thing confiderable came Night. within their notice they might inform Chryfantas of it. And there was one among them who Commanded and managed them. Who if any thing occurr'd worth Communication he imparted it, if not, he would not trouble them with needless alarms. And after this manner they march'd that night. On the Morrow Cyrus left tome of the Cadustan Horse with their Foot in regard they marched

last of all, lest they should be quite destitute of the aid of the Horse. The rest he order'd to march in the Front, directly opposite to the Enemy, that in case any Opposition should be made, he might be in a ready posture to encounter it, but if any fled, he might perfue with all Expedition. And he had always those ready by him, who were fit for a Perfuit if need were, and those who were fit to bide with him. For he would never suffer all his ranks to be dispers'd by a Persuit at once. Thus did Cyrus lead his Army. Neither did he keep constantly to one place, but rode up and down and bestowed his Care and Labour where ever there was need of it. In this

posture march'd Cyrus his Army.

But a certain man belonging to the Troop of Ga. datas, of confiderable quality, hearing that his Master had revolted from the Assyrian, thought he should be able to beg all that Gadatas had of the Assyrian, in case he should miscarry. Whereupon he dispatches a trusty messenger of his own to the Affyrian, telling him that if he law the Affyrian forces in the Coast of Gadatas, he should tell the Assyrian that if he would ly in Ambush he might easily take Gadatas and those that were with him. Moreover he bad him a quaint him with the number of forces which Gadatas had under his conduct, and that Cyrus did not accompany him. He gave him also directions how to find Access. And to make the business the more plausible he gave order to his Domesticks that they thould deliver up the Castle which he had in the Country of Gadatas to the Assyrian with every thing in it. Telling them withal that he himfelf would come to them when Gadatas was kill'd, if he could, if not, however he would henceforth side with the Affrian. Now when the person em-

ployed

ploved in this business was come with all the expedition he could to the Affyrian, and had given an account of his errand, the Affyrian immediately upon the reception of this News, sieses the Castle. and lays a great number of Horse and of Chariots in Ambush all the Villages round about. Gadatas being but a little way off from these Villages, sent out some to spy the Country. The Assyrian perceiving it Order'd two or three Chariots with a few Horse-men to fly from them as if they were afraid. and their number but very small. Assoon as the spies took notice of this, they not only Persued themselves, but gave a fign to Gadatas to do the like. He gull'd with this Pretence follows on with all the eigerness imaginable. The Assyrians when they thought they had Gadatas sure rise immediately from their Ambush. Upon this Gadatas his Men fled, and the other partly Persu'd. In the Persuit he that laid this Ambush for Gadatas, wounded him in the Shoulder, but not mortally. As soon as he had don't he rode off and joyn'd himself with the rest of the Persuers. Where assoon as ever he was known, riding on briskly with the Assyrians he affitted the King in the Persuit. And here those who had but flow Horses were taken by them who were better mounted. The Horse of Gadatas were now in a great strait, being almost quite run off their leggs, when by good Fortune they saw Cyrus coming with his Army. This you must needs think was as welcome a fight to them, as the Haven to weather-beaten Sea-men. Cyrus was at first startled at the strangenels of the accident, but assoon as he understood the business, as long as the Enemy attacked them, he led on his Army against them. But assoon as the Ene-

One of Gadatas his Subjects conspires to betray him.

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Gadatas

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other.

Enemy finding which way the wind flood began to retreat, Cyrus sent out a company fit for the purpose. to perfue them, and he himself tollow'd on with The Tray- fome others as far as he thought convenient. Here they took some of their Chariots, and killed a great many of their Men, and among the rest him that wound ded Gadatas. But the Affyrian foot who were laving fiege to the Calle of Gadatas partly secured themselves within the Works, partly betook themfelves to a certain great City of the Affyrian King, whither he himself also with his Chariots and Horses had fled.

After these Transactions Cyrus retreats into the Country of Gadatas, and committing the care of the Prisoners to those who were deputed for that Office, he marches directly on toward Gadatas, to see how he did of his wound. As he was in his march Gadatas meets him with his wound bound up, whom affoon as Cyrusfaw, I was coming, fays Cyrus and he smiling, to see how you did do. And I, reply'd Gadatas, on the other fide, was coming to fee you, that I might once more behold that face where such a great Soul lodges. For though you stand in need of me in nothing that I know, nor have obliged your felf by promise, nor been at all ingaged to me by any kindness (unless this must go for one that I seem'd to do a small piece of service to your friends) yet you have afforded me your affittance with all readiness and alacrity. I protest to you Cyrus, were I in the condition that I was born in, and had Children of my own, I question whether one of my own Sons would have been so kindly affected towards me. For I know how 'cis with other Children, and particularly that this very Affyrian King has been an

occasion

occasion of more trouble to his own Father then he can be now to you. Then faid Cyrus, Gad was you fpend all your Admiration upon me and pass by a greater wonder unobserv'd. And what's that says Gadatas. That so many Persians, so many Medes, Hyrcanians, Armenians, Sacians and Cadulians came to your aid. Then faid Gadatas, may Heaven showr down plenty of bleffings upon all thefe, and on him that gain'd me their good will. But that we may hestow a handsome Collation on these which you so commend, take these Presents such as they are which I here make you. With that he brought forth good flore of good things, that those who were so disposed might do sacrifice, and that the whole Army might have a splendid entertainment, according to the greatness of their Exploits, and the happy fuccess of the day. But now Cadusius who brought up the Arrear be- Cadusius

ing minded to do something notable himself in re- slain, gard he was no partner in the Persuit, made an Excursion into the Country near Babylon never acquainting Cyrus with his Defign. And when his Horse was all in disorder, the Assyrian King came unexpectedly upon him from the Citty where he took refuge with his Army rang'd into good Order. And perceiving the Cadusians to be alone, he fet upon them, and kill'd their Leader with many others. He took also a great many of their Horses, and the Prey which they then had accidentally with

them. The Affyrians having Perfued the Cadufans as far as they thought they might with fafety, retreated. The Cadulians which escaped carrie home to their Tents about the Evening. Cyrus when he

had an account of the adventure came forth to meet

the

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Cyrus his compassion towards the Cadusians.

the Cadusians, and whomsoever he saw wounded he took and sent him to Gadatas, that he might be cured. The rest he put together in the same Tents, where he took special care that they might have what was necessary. This sad accident Cyrus took fo much to heart, that when the rest were at Supper, he with the attendants and Physicians, left no man neglected with their good will, but either he himfelf would fland and look on, or if he could not do so, he would fend those who should attend upon them. After this they betook themselves to their reft.

rages the Cadulians.

But affoon as it was day he ordered a Proclamation to be made that of the rest the Commanders only, but that all the Cadusians should convene to-He encou- gether, to whom he made this Oration. The Accident which has befallen us fellow-Souldiers is but what Humane Nature is Subject to. For that men should be guilty of an errour is no such strange matter. However this accident has taught us one good lesson, That a party which is not able to cope with the Enemy must never venture to stray from the Body of the Army. I do not say but that a man may go out whither he has occasion with a less Company then Cadusius ventured out with, but then I would have him Communicate his resolution to one that his able to help him. And even then 'tis possible he may be disappointed, but withall 'tis also possible that he may cheat the Enemy with a referve behind, and divert them from Persuing his Emissaries. Besides he may find some work or other to keep the Enemy employ'd and so secure his friends. And thus a Party may make an Excursion and yet not be absent; but fill depend upon the thrength Book V. Life of Cyrus the Great.

strength of the Army. But he that makes private fallys out and tells no body whither he goes, 'tis all one as if he made an Expedition alone. But for this execution we will be reveng'd upon our Enemies ere long, God willing. Affoon as ever you have dined therefore I will lead you to the place which was the scene of this Tragedy, where we will bury our dead, and withal, shew our Enemies that there are others more able than themselves now in that Place, where they think they have won the day, neither shall they be able to endure the fight of the Place, where they killed our Fellow-Souldiers. But if they refuse to come out against us we will burn up their Villages, and lay wast their Country, that inflead of pleating themselves with a Scene of our misesies, they shall be troubled with a Survey of their own Calamities. Let the rest therefore go to Dinner. But do you, ye Cadusians, as your manner is, chuse one forthwith that may preside over you, and joyn with Heaven and as in taking care of you in whatever your needs shall require. Assoon as you have chosen him and taken your Dinner, send him to me. And so they did.

But Cyrus when he had led out his Army, and flaughter allotted him his station who was chosen by the Ca- of the C1dusians, he commanded him to lead his Company dusians. near him, because, says he, I would fain make these men take heart again if possible. Thus they march'd, and when they came thither, they buried the Cadufians, and laid wast the Country; which when they had done, taking Provision along with them from the Enemies Portion they return'd into the Country of Gadatus. But when Cyrus confider'd with himself that those who revolted over to him

bring

being near Babylon would be hardly used unless he himself was ever ready at hand, he acquainted the Affirian not only by those whom he dismisse of the advers party, but also by an Embassadour sent on purpose, that he was ready to spare the Husband. men, and would do them no harm if he would permit those Husbandmen, who revolted to him to follow their Employments quietly. Adding more. over, that altho' 'twas in his power to prohibit them, yet he could prohibit but a few (fince those who revolted to him had but a small parcel of Ground) whereas the Cultivation of a great deal of the others Ground lay at his Mercy. Moreover, fays he, when the Harvelt is to be gathered in, if there is War betwixt us the strongest by my consent shall gather all, but in case we enter into a League of amity you shall do it. Lastly if any of mine take up Arms against you, or any of yours against me, we will both jointly be revenged upon them to the utmost. With this message the Embassadour was fent. The Affyrians when they heard the Propofals, endeavour'd by all means to perswade their King to give way to all these things, and to leave as little of hostility among them as might be. The Assyrian whether out of a desire to comply with his Nation, or an absolute liking of the thing, consented to the Proposals. Whereupon 'twas agreed betwixt them that they should be at peace with the Husbandmen, but at War with the Souldiers. Thus did Cyfeed their Horses if they would within their own what they could, that so the warfare might be the you and keep it, till you see me in a capacity of re-

were the same hazards to be undergon whether they took any Plunder or no. But to have their Provisions suppli'd from the Enemies Country, would take off mightily from the uncafiness of the War.

Book V.

were

Now when Cyrus was just ready for the march, Gadatas was come, and with many other gifes and great Variet of Houshold-stuff, he brought with him a great many Horses, which he had taken from their riders, whom he would now no longer trust because of their Treacheries. When he was come near, I bring you these things Cyrus, says he, which I would have you use at this time, if you have occasion for any of them. And I would have you think that whatever I have befides is all yours. For Ineither have, nor ever shall have any Natural Heir, to whom I may leave my House. But of necessity both my kindred and my name will expire with my self. And this, Cyrus, I have suffer'd (as Heaven is my witness that sees and hears all things) though I have neither faid nor done any unjust or base thing. And as he was speaking he lamented his Missortune with tears, and was not able to say any more.

Cyrus hearing this was mov'd with Compassion towards the Man, and faid to him, well I accept your Horses, for I think 'twill be a kindness to you to bestow them on men who are better affected toward you, then those who had them before. And I will now immediately augment the Perfian Horte Cyrus rus, concerning the Husbandmen. He bad his Men (a thing which I have a good while purposed to do) greatly to the number of ten thousand. As for the rest of the Persian precincts, but to Plunder the Enemies Country the Houthold-stuff and Money take it away with Horse. more pleasant to his fellow-Souldiers. For there quiting you. For if you should go away leaving

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more with me then you have receiv'd from me, I can't tell how I shall avoid being asham'd. To which Gadatas reply'd, I can easily believe you in this, for I perceive what disposition you are off. But I would have you confider whether I am able to keep those things. For as long as the Affyrian and we were at peace, methought my Pa i nony feem'd a very good and convenient thing. since it being nearly lituated to the great City Babylon, all the Commodiousness that a great City could afford we had the benefit of. And for the trouble and disturbance of it, we were far enough out of its reach. But now we are at Enmity affoon as ever you withdraw, they will immediately vent their spite against our House and our whole Family. So that in my opinion we shall be in a most miserable case, when we see our Enemies so nigh and so much more potent then our selves. But perhaps you'll say, why did not I think of this sooner before I had revolted? Why to tell you the truth, Cyrus, my mind was so overcome with a passionate resentment for the wrongs I receiv'd that I did not confider what was fafest, but was always revolving this with my felf, When shall I be revenged of this wretch hated by God and Man, who continually bears a spleen against not only those that do him any injury, but are any way better then himfelf? Since therefore he is an ill Man himfelf, he will I believe use such Fellow-Souldiers as are worse then himself. But if any one among them feem to excell him, you need not trouble your self, Cyrus, to fight against that Eminent Man, but leave the Execution of him to the contrivance of the Affirian. But however weak his Affociates are, I am afraid he will be never the less able When snough to afflick me.

Book V. Life of Cyrus the Great.

When Cyrus heard this, he thought it worthy of Consideration. Then, says he, But what do you say Gadatas, have not you fortifi'd your Castle with a strong Garrison, which may afford you security when ever you betake your self to it? Are not you imbody'd with us, so that if the Gods side with us as they have done hitherto, he has more reason to dread you, then you him. Come then and march along with me, and take with you whatsoever you have that you delight in. For you will be of great use to me, and I for my part will endeavour what I can to be so to you. Which when Gadatas heard, he figh'd and faid, And can I make ready my things before you go? For I would fain carry my Mother with me. You may, reply'd Cyrus, for I will stay till you say you are ready. So Gadatas went away, and he and Cyrus together placed Garrisons in those Callles which he had fortified, and got together as much Houshold-stuff as would sufficiently furnish a large House. Moreover he carried most of his Men along with him, both those which were faithful whom he delighted in, and those whom he distrusted. Some of which he made carry their Wives with them, others their Sisters, thinking by these bonds to hold them the faster to himself. Cyrus ha- Cyrus reving now every thing in readiness departed with turns to Gadatas and his company. Who serv'd as a guide Babylon. to him in the Ways, and shew'd him where Water and other Provisions were to be had, that so he might quarter always in the best places.

But affoon as he came in fight of the City Babylon, and perceived that the Way which he was in did lead home to the Walls of the City, he call'd Gobryas and Gadatas to him, and ask'd them whi-

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Xenophon's Institution and Book V.

ther there was any other Way that they might not an. proach so night he Walls. Yes, reply'd Gobryas, there are a great many Ways, but I though you had a mind to lead up as home to the City as you could, that they might fee what a numerous and brave Army you have. For when your Company was less, you came up to the very Wall, where they faw how few we were. But now altho' the Assyrian be in readiness, (as you know he fay 'd he, was making Preparation for an engagement) yet I know when he sees your Forces he will again think himself unprepar'd.

To this faid Cyrus, you feem my Gobryas, to won-

der that then when I came with a much less Army I led quite up to the Walls, and that now when I would not come provided with more Forces, I scruple to lead by them. But you should not wonder at that. For 'tis not the fame thing to lead up to and to lead by a place: For all Men use to lead up in such order as is most convenient to Fight in, but all that understand any thing lead off so, as they may withdraw with the greatest safety, not with the greatest speed. Now in passing by the Chariots must needs be extended, and the other Carriages be mightily discomposed, and all these must be surrounded with arm'd Men. So that the carriages be never feen destitute of a Guard by the Enemy. And if we march at this rate the choice and War-like Souldiers must needs be placed just by the feeble and infirm part. If therefore the Enemy thould body together and affault any of these that pass by from the Works, with what part foever they ingage they will be too hard for those that pass by. Besides, they who march in a long train, cannot receive recruits but at a great diffance, whereas those who break forth out of the works, can pals

pals off and on in a little time to those who stand hard by. But now if we march just within fight, and with our ranks all at large as we do now, they will see how numerous we are, and all our Company will appear dreadful by reason of the Armed Men that are every where interwoven. Now if they come on against us as we march so, we shall see them long enough before-hand to prevent a Surptife. But 'tis most likely they will not venture to assault us at all, fince they must make their retreat a great way offfrom their Walls, unless they think they with all their Forces can worst our whole Army. For a retreat is a very dangerous thing. When he had faid this, all that were present were satisfi'd with his discourse. So Gobryas led as he commanded him. And when the Army was passing by the City Cyrus o drew off that the Arrear was fill the most Fortisy'd part.

Book V.

Thus marching on in a few days he arriv'd at the borders of the Affyrians and Medes, whence he first set out. There he took one of the weakest of the Assirian Castles by force, the other two partly by the dread of Cyrus and partly by the perswasion of Gadatas surrender'd themselves. After these transactions he sent a Letter to Cyaxares to desire him to come to the Army. That so they might advise what to do with the Castles which they had taken, and that when he had seen the Army himself he might consult with them about other Affairs, and tell them what he thought best to be done next. And Cyrus if it be his pleasure to have me come to him, tell seeds for him I will do so, and incamp there? with this er- Cyaxares to go one to rand the Messenger was sent away.

the Army.

Cyrus in the mean time gave order to Gadatas, that he should furnish the Tent of the Assyrian, which the Medes had fet apart for Cyanares, with all the neatness imaginable. And that he should place both the Women in a particular apartment of the Tent, and with them the Musical Women which were chosen out for Cyaxares. Which was done accordingly. But when he that was fent to Cyanares had don his errand, Cyanares thought it more expedient that the Army should remain in the Confines where it was. For the Perfians, which Cynus brought with him, were there already, who were about forty thousand Archers and Target Men, Wherefore perceiving that the Country of the Medes fuffer'd great detriment even from these, he was so far from being willing to admit of a greater multitude that he would fain be rid of them. And when he that brought these Forces from Persia ask'd Gyaxares according to Cyrus his command whether he had any need of this Army, and he told him no, he led the Army again to Cyrus on the same day where in he heard he was arriv'd.

The next day Cyanares with the Median Horse which remain'd with him began his expedition. Cyrus hearing of his coming took with him the Persian Horse who were now very numerous and all the Medes, Armenians, Hyrcanians and those of his other Fellow-Souldiers who were best accommodated with Horse and Arms, and went out to meet him, and thew'd him the Pomp of his Army. Cyanares when he faw what a company of brave flout Men were in Cirus his retinue, and what a finall despicable Handful of attendants were with himfelf, he envies cy-thought this was much to his dilhonour, and was

mightily

mightily troubled about it. And when Cyrus lighted from his Horse and came near to salute him according to the mode, he lighted also from his Horse, but turn'd away his Face, and refused to kiss him, but wept in open view.

Then Cyrus commanded all the rest to withdraw and be filent, and he himself taking Cyanares by the hand, led hin a little aside under some Palm Trees, where ordering some Median Blankets to be put under Foot, he sate close by him, and begun thus with him. I conjure you my Unkle by all that is facred, to tell me on what account you are angry with me? What is it that you see here that so troubles you? To this Cyanares made this answer. Because whereas the Ancestours from whom I am descended have been Kings time out of mind, whereas Ihad a King to my Father, and I my felf am also accounted a King, yet I see my self in such a mean Equipage, and you appear here in fuch Magnificence with my Servants and other Forces. And this in my opinion is hard to take at the hands of an Enemy, but much more grievous to suffer by those from whom I least expected it. In earnest, I think it better to be ten times buried under Ground then to appear fo vile and contemptible, and fee my felf neglected and made the fcorn of my Souldiers. For I am not ignorant that not only you are greater then I, but that my own Servants meet me with a stronger Equipage then I have with me, so that they are better able to hurt me then I them.

At the speaking of which words he was again overcome with Tears; So that he brought even Cyrus himself to that pass, that his Eyes stood full of Water:

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Cyrus excuses bimself.

Water: But when he had a little controul'd his Passion, he address'd himself thus to him: Indeed, my Cvaxares, you are under a great Mistake if you think the Medes are therefore in such a Possure whereby they are enabled to do you any Mischief. because they are with me: I do not much wonder that you are angry, and that you are distrussful: But whether you have just Grounds for it or no I shall enquire: Because I know you will not take it well if you should hear me turn their Advocate: But to deal freely with you, 'tis a great piece of Imprudence for any Governour to be angry with all his Subjects at once: For when many are afraid, many will of necessity turn Enemies: besides, to be angry with all, is the ready way to make all band together into a Conspiracy: And I would have you know, that 'twas for this very reason, that I would not return these men to you again without coming with them my felf, because I was afraid lest any thing should happen through your displeasure which might occasion Grief to us all: Therefore you need not fear any Danger from these while I am here present: But whereas you think you have sustain'd much wrong from me, I cannot chuse but be mightily troubled, if while I endeavour to the utmost to oblige and pleasure my Friends, I shall be thought to do quite contrary. But to what purpose is it thus rashly to charge one another? Rather, if it be posfible, let us understand clearly what manner of Injury it is that I have done you: And I think this is a very just Proposal among Friends. For if it appear that I have done any ill, I will own my felt unjust. But if it shall appear that I am guilty of nothing ill, not fo much as in thought, will not you

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also confess that you have not been injured by me? That truly is but reason, reply'd the other. But in case it appear that I have been the Author of good to you, and that I have been Industrious to heap as many kindnesses upon you, as I could, will you not think I deserve rather to be commended, then blamed? And good reason I should, say'd the other. Well then (fays Cyrus) let us examine all the particulars of what I have done, and so we shall know reckons up what there is of good in them and what of evil. his good In the first place then, when you understood that a Services great Multitude of your Enemies were banded toge- done for ther against you, and had made an inrode into your Cyaxares. Country, immediately you fent to the Persians in common for affiftance and to me in particular, defiring that I would come my felf, and that if any of the Persian Forces were willing to assist you, I would head them. And did not I comply with you in this, did not I come, did not I bring with me as numerous and as good an Army as I could? 'Tis true, you did so. Then tell me in the first place, was I Injurious to you in this particular or beneficial? 'Tis plain say'd Cyaxares that you were beneficial. To proceed then, when the Enemy was arrived, and opposition was to be made against them, did you then take notice that I spar'd any labour, or shrunk from any danger? No truly I did not. When again by the favour of Heaven we got the Victory and the Enemy retreated, and I defired you that we might joyn our Forces in the Persuit, and execution of them, and that whatever happen'd either good or bad we might share alike in it, can you in any of these tax me with selfishness, or that I was over and above Studious of my own interest? To

this Cyaxares made no reply. Then faid Cyrus again. well fince you think filence in this point is the best answer, did you take it as an injury that when it seem'd not safe for you to Persue, I would not suffer you to hazard your Person, but desired you to let me have some of your Horse? Did I do you any injury in asking this of you, especially since I had before been an Assistant to you in the fight? this I would fain have made out. To which when Cyana. res made no answer, Cyrus went on. But since you will neither answer to this, tell me Cyaxares, was I injurious to you because when you told me you would not take off the Medes from their Merriment which you faw them ingaged in by employing them in an hazardous Persuit, I would not give way to any resentment, but afterwards renew'd the same request to you, then which nothing less could be granted by you to me, and nothing easier be imposed upon the Medes? For I only ask'd you to give me those who were willing to follow me. And when I had a grant, I did nothing but by perswasion. So that I came to them, won upon them by perswading them, took them and so departed, and all this by your permission. And if I am to be blamed for this, then 'twill be a fault to take any thing that you give me. This was the manner of our fetting out. And when we were gon, what was there done by us that is not known to all? Were not the Tents of the Enemy taken? Were not the greater part of those flain who came against you? Did we not take away from those that remain'd alive their Horles and their Arms? And as for the fortunes of those that heretofore invaded your possessions, you see them now in the hands of your friends, part of which

which they bring to you, and part by your leave they referve for themselves. And which is the most glorious thing of all, you see your own Territories inlarged, and those of your Enemy diminish'd. You see their Castles taken, and your own which the Syrians had posses'd themselves of now in your own power again. And now methinks 'tis an insignificant thing to inquire whether these things be good or bad, but yet however I am willing to hear what your sentiments are.

To this Cyanares return'd this Answer: Indeed Cyrus, I know not how to charge your actions with any thing ill: But I would have you know, that Cyaxares these good Turns of yours are of such a Nature, that discovers the greater Shew they make, the more troublesome his envis they are to me: For I would rather see your Dominions toward enlarged by my Forces, than mine by yours: Because these Actions which make you illustrious, ediple my Light: And so for these Gifts, I had rather you were at the receiving hand than I; for by thus enriching me you make me the poorer. In truth, if I should see my Subjects moderately injured by you, it would not grieve me so much as it does to fee them thus laden with Obligations: But if this seems to you an unreasonable Complaint, make it your own Case, and consider: Suppose any body should make much of those Dogs which you bred up to keep your House, so as to make them more familiar with him than with your felf, would you thank him for such a piece of Service? But if this seem an inconsiderable Instance, suppose he should so endear those Servants whom you keep tor the defence of your felf and your Family, that they would rather be his than yours, would you think your

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your felf obliged to him for this Kindness? But to instance in a thing which all men set the highest Va. lue upon, and take the greatest Care of: Suppose any one should so far oblige your Wife with Offices of Kindness, that at length she should love him more than your felf, would this please you? I think not: Nay, he could not do you a greater Injury. But to come nearer home yet, suppose any one should by civil Applications fo far win upon the Affections of those Persians whom you led hither, that they would more willingly follow him than your felf, would you think him your Friend? No, I believe not; but rather more your Enemy than if he had kill'd a great many of your men. What if a Friend of yours, when you courteously bid him be his own Carver, and take what he please of your Substance, should go and take all that he could, and so enrich himself, leaving you the least Share, would you think fuch a Friend altogether faultless? Now, Cyrus, this is the Case betwixt you and me, or at least much of this Nature: For by your own Confession, when I gave you leave to take as many as were willing to follow you, you took all my Forces, and left me quite alone: And now you bring me those things which you took by the Service of my Army and enlarge my Dominions with my own Forces; I in the mean time appear here like a Woman, nothing contributing to your Advantage, but altogether at the receiving hand, and that even from my own Subjects. You carry the appearance of the man, whilft I am thought unworthy of Government. Are these your Kindnesses, Cyrus? Methinks you should know, that if you had any Elteem for me, you ought to be tender of nothing so much as of lessening my Authority

Authority and Dignity: For what am I the better, if while my Territories are enlarged I my felf am contemptible? For I was not advanced to the Median Crown upon this Account, because I really was more excellent than all the rest; but rather because I was presumed so to be.

Then Cyrus interrupting him; For God's fake, my Unkle, if ever I did any thing pleasing to you in my Life, gratifie me in what I shall now request of you; which is, that you would make an end of Cyrus incomplaining of me for this time: But when you terrupts his uncles comhave feen by Experiment how I stand affected to-plaints. ward you, if it appear that what I have done was all for your Good, return me Love for Love, and think that I have well deserv'd at your hands; but if otherwise, then complain on. Well, I think, says Cyaxares, you do not talk much out of the way: I will do as you fay. Shall I then falute you? faid Cyrus. Yes if you please. And will not you turn away from me as but now? I will not, fays he. Where-They are upon Cyrus embraced him; which when the Medes, friends as Persians, and the rest saw, (for they were all very gain. much concern'd what would be the Issue of these things) they were mightily affected with Joy.

And now Cyaxares and Cyrus mounting their Horles, rode on before the Medes following Cyanares (for so Cyrus beckon'd to them to do) and the Persians Cyrus. When they were come to the Camp. they placed Cyaxares in the Tent which was provided for him; and those who were affign'd for that Employment, serv'd him with Necessaries. The rest of the Medes, during the leisure time which Cyaxares had before Supper, came to visit him, and partly of their own accord, but chiefly by the Or-

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der of Cyrus, presented him with Gifts of all forts. The Medes One brought him a good Butler, another a good bring pre-Cook, another a Baker, another a Musician. Cyaxares, another Cups, another a fine fuit of Cloaths, Eve. ry one for the most part presented him with something of that which he had taken, In so much that Cyanares wholly changed his mind, and no longer suspected Cyrus of alienating his Subjects affections from him, or that he was less observed by them now then before.

> Now when Supper time was come, Cyaxares called Cyrus to him, and defired him fince he had not feen him for a long time, to Sup with him. But Cyrus begg'd him to excuse him in this particular, Don't you see (says he) that all that are here prefent were brought hither by me? Therefore 'twon't be convenient to neglect them and feem to indulge my own pleasure. For when Souldiers once think themselves neglected, the Couragious will be deje. cted and dispirited, and the Cowardly will grow Infolent and intolerable. But do you fince you are come along journy go immediately to Supper, and if you have any particular Friends invite them to your Table and chear your felf with their Society, for my part, I will dispose of my self as I said. But to morrow morning all of us that are fit for Consultation will be ready at your Gate that we may advise with you what is best to be done next. And do you let us know your mind in this, whether you are for carrying on the War yet, or for disbanding the Army.

> After this Cyanares went to Supper. But Cyrus calling together some of his choice Friends who were fittelt for Counsel or action as occasion required

red express'd himself thus to them. We have, my friends, by the favour of the Gods obtain'd what we chiefly with'd for. For where ever we go we are Victorious. We see the Enemy in the Wain, and our selves in the Encrease. Wherefore if those who are already come to us, will continue with us, we shall be able to go through with more undertakings, whether we are to use Violence or Perswa-Therefore 'tis your concern as much as mine Cyrus is to endeavour to prevail with the Major part of our for coninus Fellow-Souldiers to tarry with us.

Book V.

Now as in a fight he that takes most is counted the best man, So he that in debate brings most over to our fide, ought to be accounted the most Eloquent and Prudent Man. Neither would I have you ambitious of shewing to us what Rhetorick you use with every one of them, but endeavour to to deal with them, that they may shew how you have gain'd upon them by their actions. This therefore I commit to your Care. My business shall be to see the Souldiers furnish'd with Provisions, and

that a Consultation be had about an Expedition.

XENOPHON'S

AND

OF

CYRUS the GREAT.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

Hen they had thus spent the day and Supp'd they betook themselves to their reft. The next day after, in the morning all the Souldiers Convened together at Cyaxares his Gate. Now while Cyaxares up. on the report of a great multitude gather'd together at his Gate, was dreffing himself, some of Cyrus his friends brought to him the Cadusians petitioning him that he would stay, some the Hyrcanians, one Gobryus, and another Sacas. Hystaspas brought Gadatas

datas the Eunuch defiring the same favour of Cyrus. Then Cyrus knowing that Gadatas was long fince almost dead for fear lest the Army should be disbanded, say'd to him with a smile, 'tis plain now that Hystaspas put you in the Head to ask this of me. Whereupon Gadatas lifting up his Hands to Heaven protested folemnly, that he was not perswaded to it by Hystaspas, but I know (says he) if you go away I shall be utterly undon. And 'twas upon that confideration that I went to him, to ask him what was your mind concerning the disbanding of the Army. Then it seems, say'd Cyrus, I blame Hystaspas undeservedly, yes truly, reply'd Hystaspas: For on the contrary I disswaded Gadatas, and told him 'twas impossible you should stay, because you were fent for by your Father. How fays Cyrus, did you dare to tell him so, whether I would or no? Yes indeed, for I know you are impatiently desirous to ride up and down Persia in Pomp, and give your Father a particular account of all your brave exploits. And are not you, says Cyrus, desirous of returning home too? No says Hyltaspas, I'll flay here and perform the Office of a Commander, till I have made this Gadatas Master of the A-Syrian.

Life of Cyrus the Great

Book VI.

While they were thus seriously jesting, Cyanare's They consult came forth adorn'd in his Robes of State and feated whether tis himself on the Median Throne. And when all best to put whose presence was needful were assembled toge- an end to ther, and silence proclaim'd Cyanares deliver'd his the war, mind to this purpose. Since I am here present or not. (Fellow-Souldiers) and am elder then Cyrus, it may be proper for me to speak first. I think it high time to deliberate whether it be most for our ad-

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the Affyrian will be at rest, nor suffer punishment for those injuries which he has endeavoured to do to you, nor those which he has in effect don to me. And besides I shall be sure to be plagued by him for fiding with you. Neither am I ignorant (fay'd The Opini-Cyrus last of all) that if we disband the Army, our on of Cyrus Forces will be weaken'd and the Enemy ftrengthen'd. after all. For whofoever of them had their Arms or Horfes taken from them will quickly get a new supply of each, and others will spring up in the room of those that were flain, so that without a miracle they may again find us employment. Why therefore did I advise Cyaxares to call a Council about disbanding the Army? Truly because I was afraid of what is behind. For I see marching up towards us such Adverfaries which we cannot incounter if we incamp here. The Winter is coming on apace, and tho' we have Houses for our selves, yet we have not for our Horles, nor our Servants, nor for our common Souldiers, without whom we cannot fight the Enemy. And then as for our Provision, as far as we have come we have spent it all, and where we have not, 'twas carryed into the Works for fear. So that the Enemy has fast hold of that, and will in spight of our Teeth. Who then is so Couragious, who so strong as to incounter hunger and cold? If this then be like to be the Condition of a Military Life, 'tis better in my judgment willingly to difband the Army, then against our wills to be broken with hardship and indigence. But if you are resolv'd to hold out in this warfare, our best way will be to endeavour forthwith to take away as many fortify'd places from the Enemy as we can, and to fortify more for our selves. For if we take that

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vantage to carry on the War or to disband the Army. Concerning this point therefore let some Body or other give his Opinion. Whereupon Hyrcanius first began. I know not, says he, what need there is of many Words, when the matter is so clear. For we all know that when we are all together in a body we do more damage to the Enemy then we receive. But when we were sever'd one from another, we found by fad experience that they dealt with us as they pleased. Then Cadusius, to what purpose, fays he, should we go home, and every one live by himself, when as we find now we are in a posture of Arms 'tis not convenient for us to be afunder? I'm sure we Cadusians paid severely for offering to stray from the Body of the Army, though but for a little while. Then Artabazus who call'd himself the Kiniman of Cyrus, for my part, fays he, I diffent thus far from all that have spoken before me. They fay that we ought to flay here in a military posture. But I say I was continually in an Expedition, even while I was at home: For I oftentimes afforded my affifiance both when our goods were plunder'd and our Castles besieged treacherously, besides my care of the Garrison, and all this I did at my own charge. But now I am possess'd of their Cassles, and am not at all afraid of them, and eat and drink of the Enemies Provisions. Since therefore my Domestic Life was a warfare, and my military Life a continual feast, I would not by any means the Army should be disbanded. Then said Gobryas, I cannot chuse (Fellow Souldiers) but commend the performances of Cyrus's hand, for he has been wanting in nothing that he promised. But if he should leave this Countrey, it is plain in the first place that Book VI.

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courfe, they will be best stock'd with Provision who hoard up what they take from the other, and they will be belieged who are less stored. For the present, our Condition is just like that of Marriners. For they Sail on still, but yet that part of the Ocean which they have left behind is no more their own, then that which they have not Sail'd over. But if we take their Castles, the whole Country will be the more alienated from the Enemy, and we our selves shall enjoy the more quiet. And whereas some of you may fear lest you should be placed in Garrisons far off from your own Country, I would not have you trouble your felves with that; for we will take the places next to the Enemy, under our Charge, and you shall inhabit the Regions of Assyria, which Border on your own Country, For if we can keep those places which lie next the Enemy, you who dwell agreat way off from them will pass your time in great peace and quiet. It being not likely that neglecting the dangers nearer home, they will molest you at that distance.

When these discourses were ended, some presently stood up and readily proffered their Service, and among the rest Cyaxares himself. Cyrus perceiving them to ready to perform whatever he proposed, fay'd thus, if then you are refolv'd to do what has been say'd, we must with all speed get Engins made to demolish the Enemies Walls, and Smiths to raise up Fortifications for our selves. Then Cyanares promised that he would get them an Engin made, and Gadatas and Gobryas undertook for another, Tigranes for another, and Cyrus for another. The butiness being thus resolv'd upon they immediately ately hired Workmen and provided Materials, and set some Select Persons to oversee the Work.

Cyrus perceiving this was like to be a tedious A cunning piece of Work, incamp'd his Army in a place which Artifice of he thought was wholesome and of easy access to Cyrus. those who should bring Provision. And he so fortify'd all places that were out of repair, that those who were in them should be safe tho? sometimes remote from the body of the Army. Besides he inguired of those who were acquainted with the Country, what places would be most convenient to incamp in, and so always led some of his Men out to feek after Provision, partly that they might flore themselves the better with things necessary, partly to make them firong and healthy by contihual Exercise, and partly that they might be accustom'd to keep their Ranks. Thus did Cyrus keep himself employed.

But news was brought by some Renegades and Slaves which came from Babylon, that the Affyrian was gone into Lydia with a great many Talents of The Affyri-Gold and Silver, and other Riches, and Furniture to Lydia; of all forts. Whereupon the Common Souldiers coniectured that he carried his Wealth to another place, because afraid to trust it at home, But Cyrus who knew the errand of his departure was to Ex-Cyrus a. cite against them more Adversaries if he could, pre-lone perceipared himself for whatever Opposition he should veth the meet with. Whereupon he augmented the Persian design of Horse, the Slaves supplying him with some Horses his Expediand his Friends with others. For he took all that was brought him refusing nothing whether Horses or Arms. He provided himself also with Chariots, some of which he had taken in War, and some he Dd 4 procured

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Cyrus abolishes the old way of driving Chariots.

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procured otherwise. The old Trojan Way of driving Chariots, and also that which is in use at this day among the Cyreneans he utterly abolish'd. For in former times the Medes, Syrians, Arabians and all the Nations of Asia did use their Chariots in the same manner as the Cyreneans do now. Now Cyrus thought with himself, that that part of the Army which was likely to be the most strong (the choicest men being commonly in the Chariots) would according to the old way of making Chariots, only be a part of the light harness'd Souldiers, and con-

And invents a new fort. tribute but very little to the Victory. For three hundred Chariots supply but three hundred fighting men, and yet require twelve hundred Horses, besides three hundred Charioteers: But these are those that do no confiderable hurt to the Enemy. Wherefore these fort of Chariots he put away, and instead of them, he provided others which were fit for War, with firm Wheels, that they might not eafily be broken, and with long Axletrees, because broad things are not so apt to be overturn'd: The Coachbox was like a Tower, made of strong Timber, and came up to the Elbows of the Goachmen, who were Arm'd all Cap-a-pe except their Eyes. Besides he fatlned Irons Siths of two Cubits long on each fide of the Axletree, and another under the Axletree tending downwards: And these very Chariots which Cyrus then invented are now still in use among those that live in the Kings Dominions, Cyrus had also got together a great many Camels, some given to him by his Friends, and some taken in War. After this manner did he prepare himself.

But being minded to send a spie into Lydia to Araspas know what the Affyrian was doing there, he in love thought none to fit for that imployment as Araspas Lady Panthe keeper of the fair Lady Panthea. Now this A- thea. raspas had an accident happen'd to him, which was this. Being desperately in love with this Lady he could not forbear, but must needs solicit her for a nights lodging. But she refused, resolving to be true to her Husband tho' absent (for she loved him mightily) yet she did not accuse Araspas to Cyrus, being loath to breed difference betwixt Friends. But when Araspas thinking thereby to accomplish his defire threatned her, that unless she would confent willingly, he would force her whether the would or no, then indeed fearing left Violence should be offer'd her, she no longer conceals the bufiness, but sends her Eunuch to Cyrus with a command to acquaint him with the whole matter. Cyrus assoon as he had a Relation of it, laugh'd heartily, to think how far he lately fancied himself out of the reach of love. Whereupon he fends Artabazus along with the Eunuch and bids him tell Arafpas that he should by no means offer Violence to a Lady of her quality, but if he could perswade her by fair means, well and good. But Artabazus when he came to Araspas sell foul upon him, telling him that he had betrayed his trust, and called him impious, injurious and incontinent. Insomuch that Araspas fell aweeping, and was quite out of Countenance with shame, and almost dispirited with fear left Cyrus also should take Cognizance of it. Which when Cyrus knew, he fent for Cyrus him, and discours'd with him in private. I perceive speaks (lays he) Araspas, you are assaid of me, and greatly Assipas.

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Renegade

ashamed. But I would not have you trouble your felf. For I have been told that the Gods themselves have yielded to the Charms of love, and I know what some have suffer'd from love who had the reputation of Wife Men. Nay, I am not fuch a stranger to my felf as to be ignorant, that I cannot fit with a fair Woman and be unconcern'd. But the truth is I am in the fault for shutting you up with fuch irrefistible Charms. Then Araspas interrupting him, Cyrus, fays he, you are ever like your felf, that is, merciful and apt to pardon Humane frailties. But yet other men overwhelme me with grief, for ever fince the noise of this accident has been spread about, my Enemies triumph upon my misery, and my friends advise me to abscond, lest you punish me for the great wrong I have don you. Then say'd Cyrus, know Araspas that by this common opinion of the World concerning you, you may have an opportunity of doing me a great kindness, and your Fellow-Souldiers much good. Would I could The fubt ity (replied Araspas) be again any way serviceable to of Cyrus. I you. Why, if you will pretend that you fly from me, and joyn your felf to the Enemy, I fancy you will eafily be believ'd. Truly, fays Araspas, I am confident 'twill be rumour'd about by my friends that I fly from you. Then, fays Cyrus, you may return to us again, and inform us how matters stand with the Enemy. For I am confident they will trust you so far, as to make you privy to all their Counsels and defigns, so that you may be ignorant of nothing that we defire to know. Well then, fays Araspas, I will e'ne go without any more ado. For this one thing will be enough to render my coming

unsuspected, that I shall be supposed to have turn'd

Renegade for fear of you. But can you find in your Heart to leave the fair Panthea? Truly Cyrus I am fure now I have two Souls. This Philosophy I have just now learnt from my cruel Master love. For if I had but one only Soul, it would not be at once good and bad, nor at the same time love honest things and filthy things, nor at once will to do and not to do the same. But 'tis plain we have two Souls, and when the good Soul gets the upper hand, we undertake honest Actions, but when the evil Soul bears Iway, we do evil. But now fince my good Soul is further'd by your affistance it has much the better of theother. Well then, says Cyrus, if you are resolv'd to go, you must so contrive your business that you may be the more believ'd. I would have you tell them what we are doing, and so order your story that what you shall say may hinder them from doing what otherwise they would do. And the way to do that, is to tell them that we are preparing to make an inrode somewhere upon their Country. For if they hear of that, they will not collect the strength of their Forces all into one place, since every one will be concern'd for the safety of his own House; I would have you also spend a considerable time with them: For 'twill be much for our interest to know what they do when they are at a little diflance from us: And befure you advise them to set their Army in battel array after their best method : For they will be sure to observe the same order af-Arasoas ter you are gone from them, which you saw when joyns himyou were there: For they will be afraid to alter their felf with postures, neither can they do it on a suddain, with- the Enemy out much disorder. Araspas being thus lesson'd took on purpose out much disorder. Araspas being thus lesson'd took to betray a few trufty Servants with him and went his way. them.

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Now

to Cyrus.

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she sent a message to Cyrus to this essect: Don't trouble your felf, Cyrus, because Araspas is revolted to the Enemy, for if you will give me leave to fend for my Husband, I'l undertake you shall have a friend of much more fidelity then Araspas, and befiles I know he will come to you with as many Forces with him as he can bring. For the Father of this King that now Reigns was his great friend, but he that is now in the Throne endeavour'd to separate me and my Husband from each other. And therefore I am fure that fince he has had experience of his infolence he will come over to fuch a man as you are with all his Heart. When Cyrus heard this he bad her fend to her Husband, which Abradatus she did: Now when Abradatas knew his Wives comes over Zeal, and perceived also how other things stood, he with all readiness and joyfulness came over to Cyrus with about two thousand Horse with him. Assoon as he arrived as far as the place where the Persian Spies were, he fends away to Cyrus, and fignifies who he was, Cyrus gave order immediately that the Man should be conducted to his Wife: Assoon as they saw each other they embraced with all the passionate indearments that were proper for suchan unexpected meeting. Then Panthea gave him a relation how piously, temperately and mercifully Cyrus had behaved himself towards her: which when Abradatas heard, what shall I do my Panthea, says he, to express my gratitude to Cyrus both on your account and my own? I know no better way, reply'd she, then that you endeavour to behave your self towards him, as he has toward you.

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After this Abradatas came into Cyrus's presence, whom affoon as ever he faw, taking him by the hand, the greatest return (says he) which I can make you for those favours wherewith you have so obliged us, is that I here present my self to you as your friend, your Servant, and your Fellow-Souldier: What ever you undertake you shall be sure of the best assistance which I can afford you. And I (replyed Cyrus) accept of your service, but I will dismiss you for the present that you may Sup with your Wife: Henceforward you shall make use of my

Tent, with your friends and mine.

After this Abradatas observing that Cyrus was mightily taken up with his Chariots that bore Sithes, and his Horse and Horsemen that were arm'd with Brest-Plates, he provided an hundred Chariots made after the same fashion, and he himself led them riding in a Chariot of his own, which was so hung that it had four draught Trees and eight Horses. His Lady Panthea, out of her own store made him a Golden Breast-Plate, a Golden Helmet and likewife Coverings for his Arms. His Coach-horses were adorn'd all over with Brass-Trappings: And thus was Abradatas employed. Cyrus taking notice Cyrus of his Chariot with four draught Trees, perceiv'd makes Chatwas possible to make one with eight, that so it riots to be might be drawn with eight yoke of Oxen: And this drawn Chariot stood three ells from the Ground. He with eight thought if these great Towers followed with his oxen. ranks, 'twould be a great strengthning to the Body of his Army, and a great disadvantage to the Enemy. In every one of these Chariots he made Towers and Fortifications, and in every Tower he placed twenty Men.

But

then

But when all the work that belong'd to the Tow. ers was finish'd, he made tryal of the drawing them. And he found that those eight yokes would much more easily draw a Tower with the Souldiers in it, then one yoke its fingle carriage: For the lading of one yoke us'd to amount to the weight of twenty five Talents. But now whereas each Tower was about the thickness of a Tragick Scene, and bore twenty men apiece with their Arms, every voke had not so much as fifteen Ta. lents weight to its share. Now when he perceiv'd that these Chariots might be driven with small labour, he prepared to lead on against the Enemy with his Towers and his Army. For he thought the defire of bettering ones Condition a very just and prosperous thing in War.

The Indian King fends Money to Cyrus.

About this time some Embassadours came from India who brought money to Cyrus, and a Letter from the Indian King to this effect. I take it very kindly, Cyrus, that you would acquaint me with your wants: I am willing there should be an intimacy betwixt us, in token whereof I fend you this money; Besides I have commanded those that bring this to you to do what ever you bid them: Which when Cyrus had read, my pleasure is, says he, that some of you remain in the Tents which you have lodg'd in, and guard this money, and live as pleasantly as you can. And that three of you go to the Enemy pretending that you come from the Indian King to treat about a league, and when you know in what posture things are with them, bring me and the Indian word affoon as may be, both what they fay and do: If you will be serviceable to me in this I shall take it as a greater kindness then the money which you brought me. For as for spies they like Servants can bring intelligence of nothing but what is known to all. But such men as you oftentimes, have the luck to know even their Cabinet-Counsels. The *Indians* after they heard this, and were nobly entertain'd by Cyrus, departed the next day, engaging themselves under an oath to return assoon as ever they had sufficiently inform'd themselves concerning the state of the Enemy.

Life of Cyrus the Great.

Now when Cyrus had made Preparation for the War in a very magnificent manner (as indeed he was a man that did nothing meanly) he did not only buly himself about those things which his Fellow-Souldiers thought fit to be don, but kindled an ambition among his friends who should appear best arm'd, best skill'd in riding and throwing of a Dart, and best able to endure hardship and labour. And this he did by leading them out ahunting, and by honouring those who excell'd. Moreover if he obferv'd any Commanders that made it their business to improve their Souldiers, he encouraged them partly by commending them, partly by gratifying them in what he could. And if at any time he did Sacrifice or celebrated a festival, he instituted warlike Games and exercises and confer'd great rewards on the Victors: So that there was a great deal of joy and content in the Army.

Cyrus had now almost finished all things in order to his Expedition except the Engins. For the number of the Persian Horse was now improved to ten thousand. And there was about an hundred Chariots that bore Sithes of his own making, besides so many more which Abradatas the Susan made in

imitation

imitation of them. Cyrus also perswaded Cyanares to change his Median Chariots from the Trojan and Libvan form to the same fashion: And these made up another hundred. Besides, there were Souldiers chosen out for the Camels, two Archers for each. And (which was the Crown of all) the greatest part of the Army, was of such a resolved mind, as if they had already overcome, and as if they thought they had to do with a very inconfiderable Ene-

But when the Indians which Cyrus sent as spies were return'd from the Enemy, and brought word that they had made choice of Crasus for their Commander, and that 'twas order'd that all the affifting Kings should come with their whole Forces and bring a great quantity of Riches with them, which should be spent partly in stiring Souldiers, partly in bestowing gifts as occasion required. Besides that a great many Thracians were already hired who

The Areneth of

the Enemy is wore long Swords. That the Egyptians also were discovered. landed, about an hundred and twenty thousand in number, with Helmets reaching down to their Feet, and huge Spears, such as are now also in use among them, and falchions. That the Cyprians alfo and all the Cilicians, both the Phrygians, Lycaonians. Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, Phanicians, Assyrians and Ionians, with the King of Babylon, the Holensians and almost all the Grecians that dwell in Asia were listed under the Conduct of Crasus. And that he had sent Embassadours into Lacedæmonia for more help. That the Army incamp'd by the River Pactolus, and that they were about to *narch towards Thybarra (where now also the Barbarians of the lower Syria who are under the Kings Turisdiction

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Jurisdiction use to incamp) and that 'twas proclaimed that the public Market for all faleable Commodities should be kept there, and when all this was confirm'd by the report of the Slaves (for 'twas the aim of Cyrus to take some Captives from whom he might pump out something, he also sent out spies, under the disguise of Slaves and Renegades) when Cyrus his Army heard all this, every one began to be concern'd (as indeed, they might well enough) and all of them march'd on more filently then they Cyrus his used to do, and a great many of them seem'd very discouraged. much damp'd. Moreover they parcell'd themselves out into Companies, and every place was full of discoursings about this News. Cyrus perceiving the infection to spread, call'd together the Commanders and all others whose Fear or Courage might have any influence upon the Army. He gave order also to the Officers, that if any of the Common-Souldiers was minded to hear him, they should not keep them off. When they were convened together he spoke to this effect: I call'd you here together (my Fellow-Souldiers because I observ'd that some of you were like men astonish'd upon the hearing of the News brought from the Enemy. Indeed, I cannot but wonder that you are so much affrighted to hear that the Enemy are in a Body, fince our number is greater now then when we overcame them, and by the help of Heaven we are better provided now then before. So that I think you have more reason to chear up then despond. If you are so much out of heart at this, what would you have done had you been told that the Enemy was come to fight against you arm'd with your own Frovisions? Had you been sold Еe that

Book VI. that those who had conquer'd you once before were now come again with Victory in their minds, and that those who had broken the assaults of the Archers, were now come again with many more like themselves: And that as then they worsted our foot, so they were come provided to engage with our Horse, and that laying aside their Bows and Darts they were resolv'd to ride up so close as to fight Hand to Hand with Javelins. That they were come with Chariots not made opportune for flight as before, but that their Horses were arm'd all over in the Chariots, and that the drivers of them food in Wooden Towers having all the eminent parts of their Body cover'd with Coats of Male and Helmets, that Hooks of Iron were fastened to the Axle-Trees, whereby they might eafily break in upon the ranks of the Enemy. Besides this that they had Camels with them, which they rode upon, one of which would fright a hundred Horses, with his very looks. That their Chariots were fuch, out of which they might help their own party, and by shooting their Arrows hinder you from fighting in the plain. What a Condition would you be in if you should be told that the Enemy was thus provided, fince you are affraid now? Now, when you are told that the Enemy has chosen Crasius for their Commander, who was so much more faint-hearted, then the Syrians, that when they were put to the worse: He seeing their misfortune instead of helping them as he ought (being a Fellow-Souldier) he e'ne fled too. Besides 'tis reported that the Enemy distrusts his ability to cope with us upon his own strength, and therefore hires others who may fight better for them,

then they are able to do for themselves. If therefore here be any among you that think the Enemy's party formidable and our own weake and inconsiderable, let them with my consent be turn'd over to the Enemy. For I think 'twould be better for us to be without them then with them. When Cyrus had thus said, Chrysantas, the Persian stood up and spoke, I would not have you wonder Cyrus, that some seem to be sad upon the hearing this News. For this is not the effect of fear but of indignation, just as if some when they were sharp let, and as they thought upon the point of going to Dinner, should be told of some Work which they must do before they should Dine, none I suppose would look very pleasingly upon this. And so now we who were in expectation of a rich booty, after we heard that there was work to be done first, look a little discontentedly, not because we are affraid, but because we long to have it over. But fince we are to fight not only for Syria, which abounds with Corn, Cattle and fruitful Palm-trees, but also for Lydia, in which there is great store of Wine, Figgs and Oil, besides the advantage of being near the Sea, upon this confideration we are no longer discontented, but of a firm Resolution and Courage, that so we may the sooner possess our selves of these good things of Lydia. These were his words, whereat all his Fellow-Souldiers were well pleas'd.

And then Cyrus, in my opinion (Fellow-Souldiers) 'twould be our best way to march on against them with as much speed as we can, that we may get before them if possible, to the place where they take up their Provision. Besides the sooner we come come upon them the more unprovided we shall find them. This is my judgment, but if any one thinks we may go a safer or an easier way to work let him

propose it.

But when 'twas resolved upon without any Contradiction that 'twas the best way to march against the Enemy with all Expedition, Cyrus begun thus to the Army. We have been (my Fellow-Souldiers) this good while provided with Minds, Bodies and Arms for our fervice: But now we must carry with us Provision for the march, and that no less then what will serve us and our Horses twenty days. For I find by Computation that we shall have above fifteen days journey without any new supply of Provision. For it is carried away partly by our felves, and partly by the Enemy, as much as they could. Wherefore we must carry with us a competency of Victuals (for without this there is neither fighting nor living) and so much Wine as may suffice to accustom us to the drinking of Water. For there is no Wine to be had for the greater part of the way. And if we should carry never so much it would not suffice us. Lest therefore a fuddain detection of Wine should make us fickly and infirm, we must learn forthwith to drink Water at Meals. For if we begin betimes we shall find no great alteration by it: But if we take a draught of Wine after meat 'tis no great matter. Only we must daily lessen our proportion that so at last we may come to drink Water: For any Constitution may indure alteration if it be by degrees And this Lesson is taught us by God himself, who from Winter by little and little brings us to endure the most Violent heat, and so from heat to endure cold. Him

Him therefore let us imitate. I would have you moreover carry with you good store of Blankets; for altho you be over-stock'd, yet the Surplusage will be of great use. But in case you want, you'l hardly fleep very comfortably. Whereas he that is well-stockt with Cloaths is provided either for fickness or for health. The meat which you provide must be such as is acid, sharp and salt. For these both whet the stomack and stick by a man a long time. But affoon as we arrive at the place where we are like to have Corn, we must get us some Hand-mills: Wherewith we may make our Bread. That being the lightest of all Instruments of that kind; we must also carry Leathern Thongs with us, for these are of great use both to men and Horles, and therefore in case they should break we must k forc'd to stand still by the way, unless we have others to make all fast again. And if any one hath learnt how to sharpen a Javelin let him be fure not to forget it. 'Twill be also useful to have files with us; for he that whets his Spear does at the fame time whet his Courage also: For the very lense of disgrace will not suffer him to be a Cowaid; it will be necessary also to have good store of Wood to repair the Chariots and Wagons: for in much service and Action there must needs be a great deal of decay. And moreover we must provide our selves with necessary instruments, for Work-men are not every where to be had: Neither will a few be able to do the work of every day. There should also be a Rake and a Mattock n every Chariot, and an Ax and an Hook upon every Pack-Horse. For these will be both for prilate and publick use. As for meat, you who are Ee 3 leaders.

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leaders of the Horse must inquire of those who are under your Command what is necessary. For I would not have any one want what is fitting: For their Indigency will redound to our damage. And do you Masters of the Carriages see that the Hor. fes be provided for according to my Orders. We will also earry with us Smiths and Carpenters and Shoomakers, with their Instruments, that in case we should stand in need of their work, nothing may be wanting: And these shall have a station by themselves off from the Souldiers ranks, where they shall work for those that will hire them. And if any Merchant will follow the camp with a defign to fell any Commodity, let him also have with him so many days Provision as I said before. And if he be taken in the felling any thing before those days be over he shall forfeit all that he has: But when shole days are past he shall sell at what rate he please. And whosoever of the Merchants shall most advance the Market, he shall be amply rewarded both by my Alfand my Fellow Souldiers. And if any one thinks he shall want money to buy Commodities let him bring to me some that know him and that will engage that he shall go with the Army, and let him take what we have. And this is what I thought good to impart to you, if any one knows of any thing else that is needful to be done let him communicate it to me. And now do you go and make ready, and I in the mean time will do Sacrifice, and when we have any token of good success, we will beat the march: Let all be present at the place appointed with their Captains, and provided with all the necessaries before mentioned. And do you Captains after you have marshall'd every man in his rank, come all together to me that I may assign every one his place.

When they heard this they prepared themselves for the march, Cyrus in the mean while being employ'd in doing Sacrifice, which affoon as he had prosperously ended, he march'd with his Army. And for the first day he incamp'd as near as he could, that in case any one had left any thing behind he might go back for it, and if any one perceived he had need of any thing he might procure it. Cyanares with the third part of the Meder tarried behind, that things might not be left too desolate at home. Cyrus march'd Cyrus on with all possible speed; having placed the marches Horse in the Front, before whom he sent Spies against the into all convenient places. Next to these fol- Enemy. lowed the Carriages, and next to them the Body of the Army, that in case any of the Carriages should drop behind the Captains comingafter might take care of them, that so they might not be hindred in their Progress. And if the way happen'd any where to be narrower then ordinary, the armed Souldiers taking the Carriages into the middle, march'd on both fides of them, and if they also met with any incumbrance there were other Souldiers ready at hand to affift them. Most of the Companies march'd so as to have their particular Carriages just by them. For all those that look't to the Carriages had order to keep to their respective Companies unless some necessary accident hinder'd them. And 'twas al-6 order'd that every Over-seer of the Carriages hould go foremost carrying the Colours of his Ec 4 Centurion

bimself for

Rattle.

gether

Centurion which were well known to the Souldiers of the same Company: They march'd all in a well knit Body, and 'twas the great concern of every one not to lay behind his Fellows. So that they had no need of feeking one another out. and all things were ready at hand and in greater fecurity, and the Souldiers were the fooner supplied with what they wanted.

But the Spies which were sent before seeing some in the Plain gathering Provision and Wood. and feeing also Horses there, loaden with the same and feeding: And when looking on further they faw either Smoke or Dust ascending upward; from all this they concluded that the Enemy's Forces were somewhere at hand. Whereupon the Commander of the Spies sent a Messenger to Cyrus, to acquaint him with it. He, when he heard it gave order that the Spies should abide still in the fame place, and as they discovered any new Motion they should give him Intelligence. Moreover he sent a Company of Horse on surther, with Command that they should endeavour to take some of these in the Plain, that so they might have a more certain account of the Bulinels. Which was done accordingly by those who were deputed to He prepares that Charge. Cyrus himself order'd the rest of his Army to abide here, that they might provide those things which he thought they would have occasion for before they ingaged. In the first place, he gave order that they should Dine, and then that they should remain in their Ranks, and observe what was commanded them. When they had

dined, he summon'd together the Commanders

of the Horse and Foot and of the Chariots, to-

gether with those who had the Charge of the Engins, Carriages and Wagons. While these were getting together, in the mean time, those who made a fally out into the Plain, brought with them some men which they had taken: Who when they were examin'd by Cyrus, told him that they belong'd to the Enemy's Camp, and that they went abroad partly to get Victuals and partly to get Wood, having passed beyond the first Guard: For their Army being so numerous they were all in great Scarcity: Which when Cyrus heard, and how far off (fays he) is the Army? They told him about an hundred Furlongs. Then fays Cyrus, and had you any news concerning us? Yes, (reply'd they) a great deal, and that you were just hard by. And were they glad (says Cyrus) when they heard that? Which Question he ask'd for the fake of those who were present. No indeed (reply'd) they) they were not glad, but on the contrary very much cast down. And what do

Life of Cyrus the Great.

I desire. After this he order'd the Captives to be led off, and turn'd himself toward them that were by as if he had something to say to them. In the mean while another Messenger was come who brought News that a great Company of Horse was seen in the Plain. And fays he, 'tis our fancy that they come out of Curiofity to view our Army. For

they do now? fays Cyrus. Why now they are

mustering as they have been this three days. And

who is't that Disciplines them? They answer'd,

Grafus himself, and with him a certain Gracian, and

a Mede, who is said to be a Renegade from you.

Well, says Cyrus, Heaven grant I may take him as

be-

Araspas

returns

nemy.

before this Company there are almost thirty Horsmen making up very fiercely against us. Perhaps with a defign to take our Watch-Tower if they can. And there are but ten of us there: Then Cyrus commanded some of his Horse which he had always about him, to march up to the very place; and there to bide unfeen by the Enemy. And fays he, affoon as our men shall quit the place. then do you break forth from your Ambush, and invade them that would get the Watch-Tower into their power. And that you may receive no hurt from that great Company, do you Histashar march out with a thousand Horse and Confront the Enemy. But be sure you don't persue them to any blind and obscure places, but assoon as you have taken care for the security of the Watch-Tower, retreat again. And if any shall make signs of coming over to our side receive them Curteoufly.

Hystaspas therefore went and arm'd himself, and in the mean time, the other Emissaries of Cyrus, march'd forth according to their Commission. And as they were going they met Arafbas, with his retinue on this side the Watch-Tower: 'Twas he from the E- that was sent out before as a Spie, the Keeper of the Susian Lady. Assoon as Cyrus saw him he leapt down from his feat, and went to meet him, and took him by the Hand. This was matter of great wonder to the rest (as well it might) that knew nothing of the business, till Cyrus said to them, My Friends, here is a very good man return'd to us: For 'tis fit you should all know what this man hath done. 'Twas neither shame for any ill thing committed, nor fear of me that

was commission'd by me to go and learn the slate of the Enemy, and bring me a true account of it. I will remember my Araspas what I promised you, and I with all thefe, here will take care to repay you. And you Fellow-Souldiers ought in justice to honour him as a man of Courage. For for our fake he exposed himself to danger, and underwent the Imputation of the Crime, with which he was charg'd. Whereupon they all embraced Araspus, and gave him their right hands. When Cyrus thought there was enough of civility express'd, we would now Araspas, have you tell us what it concerns us to know, but do not mince the matter, nor make our Enemies less considerable then they are. For twould be better for us to find things less then they are represented, then greater.

Book VI.

For my part, says Araspas, I made it my bufinels to know things fully. For I was my felf, present at their mustering. Then, says Cyrus, you know not only their number but the order which they observe. Yes, reply'd Araspas, and their way of fighting too. But in the first place, fays Cyrus, The Enepray give us an account of their number. Why, my's Forces fays he, their Horse and Foot are rang'd into very great. such a form that they are three hundred in a breast, besides Ægyptians: They take up the space of about forty Furlongs; for I was very curious to observe, how far they spread themselves. But after what manner are the Ægyptians marshall'd? Says Cyrus. Why, fays he, the Captains of ten thousand divide every Army of ten thousand into hundreds. For this they faid was the manner which they observ'd at home. Cræsus indeed could hardly be per-**Swaded**

was

Book VI.

How Cyrus

will have

Xenophon's Institution and Book VI.

fwaded that they should be disposed in such a form, because he would have his Army extended beyond yours, in length. Why fo? fays Cyrus; Because he would compass you about with the overplus of his men. But let them take heed, reply'd Cyrus, lest while they think to compass us, we compass them. But we have heard enough from you of what concerns us to know. Now my Fellow-Souldiers you must do thus; when you are gone hence, do you look upon your Horses Armour and your own. For often times it happens through the want of a little thing that both Man, Horse and Chariot is disabled for any service. To morrow morning while I do Sacrifice you may feed your felves and your Horses, that we may not be wanting in what foever is to be done afterwards. Then do you Araspas take the Charge of the right Wing which you have now, and do you Captains of the ten thousands, keep the same station which you have already. For when we are to ingage, no Chariot can have opportunity to change Horses. And do you tell the Lieutenants and Captains that they shall stand two Companies in a Breast: Each of which Companies did consist of four and twenty Soulmarshall'd. diers. Whereupon one of the Captains of ten thousand said, And do you think Cyrus if we are dispers'd into so many Companies, that we shall be able to encounter such a thick Body as theirs? If (fays Cyrus) our ranks should be so thick that we cannot reach the Enemy, what damage do you think that would do them, and what good to ourselves? For my part I could

wish that these Companies which are divided

by

by hundreds were divided by ten thousands. For then we should fight with a few at a time. But how thick so ever my ranks are, I suppose they will be strong enough, and ready to assist one another. I will put those that fling Darts after those that wear Breast-Plates, and after the Darters the Archers. For who would place them in the Front who confels themselves that they cannot indure to fight Hand to Hand? But if they have the Breast-Plate Men before them facing the Enemy they will stand the Field. And the one with their Darts, and the other with Arrows. (hot over the Heads of them that are before them, will do Execution upon the Enemy. And look whatever mischief any one does to the Enemy; So much does he add to the chearfulness of his Fellow-Souldiers. After all these, will I place the Rear. For as an House can neither be firm without Stone-work, nor fit for any thing without a Builder, so neither will an Army be good for any thing which has not a strong Front and Rear. Do you marshal then your Ranks as I Order you, and do you Leaders of the Target-men place your Companies behind these, and you Leaders of the Archers, place yours next to the Target-men. And as for your part that lead up the Rear, do you take care of your Charge, and Command them to look back and have an Eye upon one another, and do you encourage those that do well, and severely reprove those who are Cowardly. If any one turns his back with a defign to quit his station let him be punish'd with Death. For the main business of a Commander is to chear up those that follow both by his words

words and by his Example. And as for you that are in the Rear, you should make the Cowardly fear you more then they do the Enemy. And do you Abradatas whose charge is to look to the Engins, see that the Teems which draw the Towers follow close to the Body of the Army. And do you Dauchus, who preside over the Carriages, lead on next to the Towers, and do you animadvert upon those that run on too fast, or lagg behind their Fellows. And you Carduchin. who are to look to the Waggons, that carry the Women, do you place them just after the Carriages. For if all these follow behind 'twill both make the greater appearance, and afford us an opportunity of lying in Ambush, and force the Enemy if they defign to furround us, to take the greater compass about. And consequently the farther they spread themselves, the weaker they must needs be. And as for you Artabazus and you Artagersas do you lead each of you your thousand Foot next after these. And you Pharnuchus and you Afiadatas, don't you place your thousand Horse within the Body, but stand ready arm'd behind the Carriages, and then come to us with the other Captains. But however I would have you in such a posture of readiness, as if you were to give the first onset. And do you who have the Charge of the Camels take your station behind the Waggons, and obey the Orders of Artagersas. And do you who have the Command of the Chariots, cast lots, and to whomsoevers turn it falls, let him place his hundred Chariots before the Body of the Army-As for the other Centuries of Chariots, let one Book V. Life of Cyrus the Great.

of them take to the Right-Wing and the other to

Thus did Cyrus dispose of all things. Then Abradatas, the King of the Susans, told Cyrus, Abradatas that if he pleaf'd, he would willingly take to his Couthe other opposite part of the Army. Where-rage. upon Cyrus wondring at the man, took him by the Hand, and ask'd the other Persians that were in the Chariots, whether they would yield to it? They giving their approbation of the thing, he determin'd the business by Lot, and so that fell to Abradatas by fortune, which he had before took upon himself: So he took his station just over against the Egyptians. This being over, and care taken of the things before mention'd, they were dismissed every one to Supper, and when they had set a Watch, they betook themselves to their rest. The next day following, in the morning Cyrus offer'd Sacrifice. But all the Army, after they had dined, and likewise done Sacrifice, arm'd and provided themselves: putting on many brave Coats of Male and Head-pieces, they armed also their Horses with Frontlets and Breast-plates. The Horses that carried single had their Thighs arm'd, but the Teem-Horses their Sides: So the whole Army shined in their Armour, and Scarlet Habit.

The Chariots of Abradatas had four Draught-Trees, and was drawn by eight Horses, very richly adom'd. And as he was about to put on a Breatt-Plate cover'd over with white Linnen after his Country sashion; Panthea brought him a Golden Helmet and a Gaunlet and a Scarlet Coat that reach'd down to his Feet, hanging all in Folds like

like a Gown, and a Crest of Violet Colour. These the provided for her Husband, privately and order'd them to be made according to the fize of his other Armour. He was mightily affected at the fight, and ask'd Panthea whether she had cut up the Ornaments of her Head, to make him this Armour? No truly, said Panthea, not that Ornament which I most esteem. For you, if you approve your felf to others, as you appear to me, are like to be my greatest Ornament. With that

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Panthea armes her Husband and exhorts him to be

she put on his Armour for him, and altho she refrain'd what she could, yet the Tears began to trickle down her Cheeks.

Abradatas, tho' of a good presence before, yet Couragious. after he was dress'd up in this Armour look'd very Gallant and brave, being naturally of a Generous manly Aspect. And when he had took the Reins of the lower Coach-man, he prepared himself to ascend into his Chariot. Then Panthea desiring those who were present to withdraw, My Abradatas (says she) if ever any Woman valued her Husband above her own Soul, I believe you are convinced that I am one of them. What need therefore have I to mention particulars? For I think the actions which I have done for you, will find more credit with you then any words I can now utter. But altho I am thus affected toward you as you know, yet I swear both by your love and my own that I would rather be buried with you after you have acquitted your felf bravely, then to live with you upon any dishonorable terms: I have so much Honour both for my self and you. Moreover I would have you confider that we are mightily indebted to Cyrus, for as much as after I was reduced

duced to the Fortune of a Slave, and fet apart for himself, he would not use me as a Woman of a Servile Condition, nor yet dishonour me as free. But after he took me, he kept me, for you, as if I had been his own Brothers Wife. Besides when Arafor, who was my Keeper, revolted from him, I promised him that if he would give me leave to fend to you, you should come to him, and prove more noble and faithful to him, then ever Araspas was. Thus the faid to him, where at, Abradatas The Picture mov'd with a pleasing wonder, touching his Head, of love beand looking up to Heaven, grant O Jupiter (says and wife. he) that I may shew my self a worthy Husband to Panthea, and a worthy Friend to Cyrus, who has dealt thus honourably with us. When he had thus faid, he went up into his Chariot. And when after his ascent, the Coach-man had shut fast the Seat, Panthea having now no other way to embrace him, kiff'd the very Seat. And now the Chariot drove on, and the follow'd after privately, till Abradatas looking back and feeing her, bid her thear up and take her leave of him. Then her Eunuchs and waiting Maids took her aside, and put her into a Bed in the Tent. But altho, Abrodatas and his Chariot, made a fine glorious shew, yet people could hardly be at leifure to take notice of it, till Panthea was retired.

· But when Cyrus had ended his addresses to Heaven, and the Army was Marshall'd according as he gave order, calling together the Commanders of his Army, he thus addressed himself to them. The Gods (My Friends and Fellow-Souldiers) give us such discoveries in the intrails of our Sacrifices, as they did when they gave us the last Victory. But

how-

ded into hundreds they must necessarily be an hindrance one to another. But if they think to bear us down with multitude, they must first stand

the shock of our Horses, and then of our Iron Instruments. And if any of them, should maintain their ground against these, yet how will they be able to contend against our Horse, our Body, and our Towers? For those Men of ours who are pla-

Book VI. however I will put you in mind of fuch things which if lodg'd fafe in your memory will make you go much the chearfuller to the Battle. For in the first place, you are better train'd up in War, then your Enemies, and besides, you have been longer at it, and withall have been lately flush'd up with a Victory. But many of the Enemy have feen one another overcome. And as for those, of either side, who were never yet in an engagement. those of the Enemy's Army know that they have Traytors and Renegades, to their Fellow-Souldiers, whereas you who are with us are affured that you have those to fight with you who will be ready to help their Fellows. And 'tis to be expected that they should fight unanimously, who conside in one another; but as for those that distrust each other, their greatest concern will be how to sculk away. Let us march on therefore (Fellow-Souldiers) with our armed Chariots against the unarm'd ones of the Enemy, and fight near at hand, with our armed Horses and Horse-men against the unarm'd. You have the same Foot to encounter which you had before, and the Ægyptians are arm'd and marshall'd after the same manner as they were before. Their Shields are too great for them, either to fee any thing, or do any thing, and being divi-

ced in the Towers will be able to Succour us, and by doing Execution upon the Enemy make them more inclinable to despair, then willing to fight. If you think you stand yet in need of any thing more, let me know what 'tis. For I hope by the help of Heaven we shall not be driven to any streights. If any one has any thing to fay, let him speak. But if not, go to your prayers, and when you have pray'd to the Gods to whom we offer'd Sacrifice, betake your selves to your ranks: And be fure to remember every one of you what instructions you have received from me, and by the manliness of your behaviour, Countenance and Speech, approve your felves to be worthy of Command before your respective Charges.

Life of Cyrus the Great

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O F

CYRUS the GREAT.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

Hen therefore they had pray'd to the Gods, they went to their ranks. And Cyrue, with his attendants, had Meat and Drink brought them, while he was doing Sacrifice. He dined in a standing posture, and distributed to every one, always as he needed. And where he had done Sacrifice again and pray'd, he drank himself, and those that were with him. After this, praying to Jupiter, the God of his Country; that he would vouchsafe them his guidance,

Book VII. Life of Cyrus the Great.

dance, and Protection, he mounted his Horse, and commanded those that were next him to do so too. Now all those that were about Cyrus, were arm'd after the same manner that he was. Every one had his Scarlet Coat, his Brazen Breast-Plate and Helmet: White Creft, Sword and Javelin. Their Horses were arm'd with the like Brazen Frontlets, Breaft-Plates and Side-Peices. And they had also, the same coverings for their Thighs. The only difference was this, that whereas the others Arms were dipt with Gold Colour, Cyrus his did thine like a Looking-Glas. Af er he was on Horfeback, and flood fill a little to look about which way he was to go, it Thunder'd luckily on the left hand. Whereupon he faid, we will follow thee great *Jupiter*. And forthwith he began his march: Chryfantas the Commander of the Horse, leading the right Wing, and Arasambas the Commander of the Foot the left. He bad them have an eye to the Colours, and follow after with an even pace. His Enfign was a Golden Eagle difplay'd upon a long Spear. And this same Ensign is retained by the King of Persia to this day. But before he came within Ken of the Enemy he refreshed his Army three times.

After they had march'd about twenty Furlongs they began to have a glimps of the Enemy making up against them. Now when they were both in view of one another, the Enemy's design was to compass the adverse Body on both sides. And accordingly they stopp'd their own, because otherwise they could not do it, and so winded about to intercept the Enemy in the middle, that so ranging their Army inthe Figure of the Letter (2)

Ff 3 they

they might fight on all fides. Which altho' Cyrus took notice of, yet he made no stop, but lead on as he did before. But when he observ'd that they took a large compass about, do you mind Chrifantas (lays he) how they bend off? Yes (lays Chrylantar) neither do I much wonder at it, for in my mind they draw off their Wings a great way from their Body. So they do (fays Cyrus) and a great way from ours too. And why so? because (fays he) they are affraid left if they should bring their Wings nearer, their Body belog so remote we should set upon them. But then (says Chrysantas) how will they be able to help one another, when they are so far distant? Why 'tis plain (says Cyrus) that when their Wings are got just oppofite to the fides of our Army, they will close as it were into a Body, and fall upon us on every fide. And do you take this to be such a good peice of Policy says Chrysantas? Yes truly with respect to what they fee, but as to that which they do not fee, 'twere better they came on directly against us. But do you Arsamas, lead on the Foot leafurely, as you see me go before. And do you Chryfantas follow after at the same rate with the Horse. And I for my part, will make toward that place which I think fittest to engage in. And as I go, I will consider how to make the best of every thing. Affoon as I am come thither, and we are upon the point to engage, I will begin a shout, and then do you follow: You will easily know when we are at it by the Tumult, and then Abradatas (hall break in upon them with his Chariots. Do you follow as close to the Chariots as you can, for by this means we shall fall in upon the EncLife of Cyrus the Great.

Enemy when they are greatly disordered. And I my felf will be ready at hand, and by the help of Heaven persue them with all speed.

When he had thus spoken, and given this to be the Word, Jupiter our Saviour and our Guide, he march'd on. And as he was between the Chariots and the Souldiers arm'd with Coats of Male, as often as he look'd upon any in the Ranks, he would sometimes say: How pleasant is it (Souldiers) to behold your Faces! And fometimes, again to others, do you confider Souldiers that we are now to contend not only for this days Victory, but also for that which we obtained before, and indeed that our whole happiness lies at stake? And then as he passed by another, We shall have no reason hence forward (Fellow-Souldiers) to complain of our Gods, for they have given us opportunity of many and great atchievements. But however (Souldiers) let us acquit our selves like Men. And again, to others: To what better Banquet could we defire to be invited then to this? For now is your time, if you are resolv'd to play the men, to inrich and advantage one another. And then again, to others. You know (I suppose) Souldiers that here are rewards propos'd before us; To them that overcome the reward is to persue, kill and defroy, Plunder and be commended; to be free and Command: But to those that are overcome, the contrary; whoever therefore loves himfelf, let him fight along with me. For I will not away with any Cowardliness or baseness if I can help it. Again, when he came to some of those who had been in the former Ingagement: But to you (Souldiers) what need I say any thing? For Ff 5 you

you know well enough what is the fate of the Couragious and what of the Cowardly.

Then merching on a little further he came to A. bradatrs, and made a flop. And Abradatas delivering up the Reins to the lower Coachman? went to him. Others also who were nigh there abouts came flocking to him. When they were come, Cyrus spoke to this purpose: It has pleas'd Heaven Abradatas, to make you and yours (as you defired) chief among your Fellow Souldiers. But you are to remember that when you ingage, the Persians are the men that are both to see you, and come after you: Neither will they fuffer you to fight alone or be deserted. To whom Abradatas; Indeed Cyrus I think matters stand very well with us. But I am concern'd for the fides: For I fee that the Enemy has spread out their Wings a great way, and withall they are very flrong both in regard of Chariots and all manner of Forces. And we have nothing to oppose to all this besides Chariots. And therefore as for my own part had not this station fall'n to me by lot I should be asham'd of it. I seem to be so very safe: Well then, reply'd Cyrus, if you think you are well enough your felf, don't trouble your felf for the other. For I warrant you by the help of the Gods, you shall see these sides of the Enemy quite bare. And I defire you that you would not ingage with the Enemy, till you fee these whom you are so much affraid of, the before us. (Thus magniticently did he talk now the Battel was at hand, whereas at other times he was not much given to boasting) but when you see these slie, then conclude that I am not far off, and make your onfet проп Book VII. Life of Cyrus the Great.

upon the Enemy. For then shall you find the Cowardliness of the Enemy, and the Valour of vour own Men. But while you have leisure Abradatas, ride along by your Chariots, and incourage your Men to fight, partly by inspiriting them with your looks, and partly, by chearing them up with hopes. And do what you can to excite an Emulation among them, of appearing the best in the Chariots. For affure your felf if you do thus, they will all fay at last that nothing is better than a good Couragious Heart. Whereupon, Abradatas getting up into his Chariot, rod up and down and did accordingly.

Cyrus marching forwards, came to the left Wing where Hyltaspas was with half of the Persian Horse. Whom he call'd to by his Name, and faid, now you fee Hystaspas a work which requires all your speed: For if we can but prevent our Enemies by killing them first, none of us shall perish. To which Hyltaspas smiling reply'd, let me alone to deal with those that stand opposite, but do you take care that those that are of the sides want not work. Those are the men (says Cyrus) I am now going to. But do you remember Hystaspas, that to whomfoever of us Heaven shall grant the Victory, if any part of the Enemy remain'd unvanquilh'd, we are both to joyn against those who oppose us. When he had thus said he march'd forward. And when he was come to the Commander of the Chariots, I am come, says he, to help you. But when you perceive that we are invading the skirts of the Enemy, then do you endeayour to break through the midst of the Enemy. For 'twill be fafer for you to break through, then

to be intercepted by them in the middle. But when he was come behind the Wagons, he commanded that Artagerses and Phatnuchus with their thousand Horse, and so many Foot should stand still in the same place. But (says he) when you see me invade those who are on the right side, then do you sall on upon those who stand opposite to you. For you will sight that Wing where the Army is weakest. And you will also be the stronger for having a Body. You see the Enemy has placed their Horse in their Rear, and against these do you oppose the Ranks of the Camels. And be you well assured that the Enemy will appear ridiculous

to you before you are to ingage. When Cyrus had thus done, he went to the Right Wing. But Crefus supposing that the Body which he himself led was nearer to the Enemy then the Wings which were drawn out into a great length he gave a token to the Wings that they should venture no further, but turn to the Enemy in that very place where they were. And when they all stood still, and viewed Cyrus his Army, he gave them the Word to fall on upon the Enemy. And thus there were three Squadrons that ran on upon Cyrus his Army, one directly opposite, and the other two on each side, so that all Cyrus his Army was in a great fear. For it twas like a little Brick in a great Building compass'd about every where, except behind, with Horse-men and Target-men, Archers and Chariots. But however affoon as Cyrus gave the Word, they all wheel'd about and faced the Enemy. And all things were hulh'd in great filence, for fear of the event.

Cyrus

Cyrus thinking it now high time, began the shout, which was answered by the Eccho of the whole Army. Then with a loud voice calling out Mars, he broke forth, and planting his Horse against the Flank of the Enemy, he presently ingaged with them. The Foot keeping their Ranks follow'd Cyrus enspeedily after, and were compass'd on every side gages the with the Enemy. But they were in much the bet- of the Eneter Condition, for they fet upon the Wing, with my. the Body strengthning them. So that there was quickly a great flight among the Enemy. Artagerses assoon as he saw Cyrus ingaged, invaded the lest side of the Enemy sending in his Camels among them, according to Cyrus his Order. The Horses Horses could not endure them at a great distance, of the Enebut some of them ran away Mad, some pranc'd my are and leapt, some rush'd upon one another: For frighted thus Horses use to do at the sight of Camels, Ar-with Cyrus's tagerses keeping his Men in their Ranks, fell upon Canels. those which were disorder'd, with his well order'd Company, and withall, fent in the Chariots which were on the right and the left among them. Many that escaped from the Chariots, were kill'd by those that followed the Wing, and many that escaped them were intercepted by the Chariots.

And Abradatas no longer able to contain himself, cry'd out aloud, Follow me Friends, and rush'd in with his Horse upon the Enemy, and shed a great deal of Blood among them, giving quarter to no Body. And with this, the other Chariots broke in also. Whereupon the opposite Chariots fled immediately, some of them carrying those that sought out of them away with them, and some leaving them behind. Abradatas making his way directly through

them

Book VII.

them set upon the Squadron of the Egyptians, those that were next him in the Army attending him. And here they verify'd that which is otherwise evident enough, (viz.) That there is no Body of Men stronger then that which is made up of Friends. For those that were his intimate Companions. and fate with him at the same Table, accompany'd him in this affault upon the Enemy. And some of the Chariot-men when they faw that the Egyptians flood the shock, with a full Body, turn'd to the Chariots that fled, and followed after them. But those who were with Abradatas because the Egyptians were penn't up so close that they could not give way, overturn'd some with the Violence of their Horses, and those that were down they trampled under foot. And not themselves only, but also their Armour, Horses and Wheels. Whatfoever their Hoeks took hold of was cut off by mere force, whether Arms or Bodies. And in this Tumult, too great to be described, it happen'd through the jumping of the Wheels over the heaps that laid in the way, that Abradatas with some of those that made this onset with him, was thrown out of his Chariot. And fo these after they had for a while behaved themselves like men, were cut down and kill'd. But the Persians following hard after broke in upon the Place where Abradatas with his company charg'd the Enemy, and made a Slaughter among them that were disorder'd.

The engagement hatwist the Eigyptims and Perilans

The Egyptians as many as were unbroken among them (and truly they were a great many) made directly against the Persians. And now commenced a cruel fight with Lances, Darts and Swords. The Egyptians had the advantage both

as to number and Weapons: For their Spears were firm and long, such as they have at this day among them. And their Shields which were saltned to their Shoulders cover'd their Bodies more. and ferv'd to keep off any hurt botter then Coats of Male. Wherefore they advanced with their Shields thut close together, and carried all before them. The Perfians could no longer stand their Ground, but retreated leafurely, still fighting and receiving Wounds as they went, till they came under the Engins. When they were come thither; the Egyptians were then wounded from the Towers. And now neither the Archers nor those that flung Darts could have opportunity of retreating for those in the Rear. But were forc'd to fland to't with their Swords and their Arrows and Darts. And now there was a great Slaughter of Men, a great clattering of Armour and all forts of Weapons, and a great cry, some calling out upon one another, some incouraging one another, some imploring the help of the Gods. In the mean while Cyrus comes from the pursuit of those that were opposite to his Company. And when he saw the Persians had lost ground he was troubled, and perceiving that there was no better way to stop the further Progress of the Enemy then by attacquing their Rear, he commands those that were with him to follow him. and fets upon them in the Rear. And here he did great Execution upon them. Which when the Egyptians perceiv'd they cryed out that the Enemy was behind, and chang'd their posture as they were fighting. Then the Horse and the Foot fought promiseuously. And it happen'd that one Horfe-Section 1

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Horse-man fell under Cyrus his Horse, and being trod upon, run the Horse into the Belly with his Sword. The Horse being wounded fell a wincing and threw off Cyrus. Then did it appear what 'twas for a Prince to be beloved by his Subjects. For on a suddain they all cry'd out aloud. and fell to it pell-mell, justling one again ano. ther and wounding one another, till at last one of Cyrus his Guard alighting from his Horse, put Cyrus upon him. But affoon as Cyrus was mounted again he saw great Execution done upon the Egyptians on all sides. For Hystaspas was now come with the Persian Horse, and also Chrysantas. But these he would not suffer to press home upon the Egyptian Squadron, but bad them shoot at them at a distance. But after that he was come as far as the Engins, he had a mind to get up into one of the Towers that he might see whether any other of the Enemies Forces flood their ground and fought. Affoon as he was got up he saw the Field was full of Men and Chariots; some flying, some persuing, some conquering, some yielding; his Enemies flying and his own conquering. But of the conquer'd he could fee none appear belides the Egyptians. These being hardly put to't, huddled themselves together into a Ring, so that nothing appeared but their Arms, and fate under their Shields. And this was all that they were able to do, but in the mean time, they were all upon the suffering Hand. Cyrus admiring their Fortitude thought it great pitty that such brave men should die at that manner, Commanded his Men to retreat, and would not suffer any of them to fight against them any more.

more. But fent an Herauld to them with this proposal, Whether they would rather die for them that deferted them, or be faved with Honour as being brave Men? To which they reply'd, But how can we be faved and withall secure the Reputation of flout men still? To which Cyrus return'd, Because we are Witnesses how you maintain'd your Ground alone, and fought to the last. But upon what Condition may we be preserv'd? Upon this only (reply'd Cyrus) that you yield up your Arms, and enter into a League of amity with those who when 'twas in their Power to kill you, chose rather to spare you: When they heard this they ask'd again, But to what Service will you employ us if we League with you? Why fays Cyrus, I will benefit you, and be benefitted by you. Then faid the Egyptians, And what benefits do you mean? To which Cyrus, I will give you a larger stipend then that which you now serve for, as long as 'tis Wartime. And when 'tis peace, whoever of you are minded to remain with me, I will give them Ground and Cities, Wives and Slaves. When the The Egyp-Egyptians heard this, they defired that this only themselves might be excepted, that they should not be put up- under on't, to fight against Crasus: For him only they Cyrus. could forgive. So upon all the rest they were agreed, and plighted their Faith mutually to each other. And so that Remnant of the Egyptians which was then preserv'd remain still in the Service of the King. And Cyrus gave them Cities in the higher parts of the Country, which are call'd to this day the Cities of the Egyptians. Such as are Larissa and Cyllene by Cluma bordering upon the Sea, which their Posterity now enjoy. Cyrus having

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ving dispatch'd these affairs return'd by night and incamp'd at Thyribare.

In this Battel, the Egyptians were the only men

among the Enemies Army, that came off with any credit. And of Cyrus his Souldiers, the Horse feem'd to do best: So that the Armour is kept to this day, wherewith Cyrus arm'd his Horsemen. Moreover the Hooked-Chariots perform'd so well, that those Warlike kind of Chariots are retain'd in use by the King at this day. All the good which the Camels did was only to frighten the Horses. For as those that rod upon them kill'd none of the Horsemen, so neither were they kill'd by the Horsemen themselves, because no Horse would dare to come near them. And in this respect they were something useful, but however now 'tis out of fashion, for great Men to keep Camels for their use, or to exercife themselves in fighting from them: They are now put to their Primitive Work of carrying Burthens. Now when Cyrus his Souldiers had Supp'd and placed the Guard they betook themfelves to their refl.

Cræfus des.

Crasus with his Army made directly towards flies to Sar. Sardes. Those of other Nations went every one as far homeward as they could that night: Affoon as it was day Cyrus led his Army directly against Sardes. And affoon as he came to the Walls he erected his Engins and Ladders against the Works: At length he had made way for the Persians and Chaldeans to scale the Walls of the Sardians, the night following in the most difficult and seemingly desperate place of all the Works. Leader of this undertaking was a certain Persian, who

who was a Servant to one of the Keepers of the Garrison, and knew both the descent to, and the ascent from the River. When 'twas known that the Tower was taken, the Lydians fled from the Walls, every one where he could. Cyrus entring the Town at break of day, gave order took by to his Army that none should offer to leave his Cyrus, Rank. But Crasius locking himself up in his Palace, call'd out upon Cyrus: Who when he had left him in Custody, went to the Tower that was taken: Where when he saw the Persians keeping the Tower as they ought to do, but of the Chaldeans, nothing but their Arms; because they were gone down to plunder the Houses; he presently call'd together their Commanders, and forthwith casheer'd them from his Army. For, says he, I will never endure that those that defert their Ranks shall fare better then others. And I would have you know, that 'twas my defign to make all you, that fight in my Service, such as all the Chaldeans should call happy. But now think it no wonder when you are gone from me if you meet with those that are stronger then your selves. When the Chaldeans heard this, they were affraid, and defired him not to be angry, and they would refund all the Plunder back again. Cyrus told Cyrus Die them he had no need of it, but if they would nish s the have him reconciled, they should give all which greedy they had taken, to those who stood guarding Chaldes the Tower. For (fays he) if my Souldiers observe that those who keep their Ranks, are best rewarded, then all will go well. Whereupon the Chaldeans did as Cyrus had commanded them: And so those that behaved themselves obedient-

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ly were well rewarded. Cyrus having incamp'd his Army in the most convenient place about the City, Commanded his Souldiers to keep on their Armour, and take their dinner.

Cyrus Commands

When this was done, he gave Command that Cressus should be brought to him. He, when he Cræsus to saw Cyrus, God save you Master (says he) For that be brought is the Name which Fortune has now order'd before him. me to call you by. And you too Crasus (reply'd Cyrus) forasmuch as we are both Men. But what say you Crasius, will you give me some advice? Yes, reply'd Crasus, I would be ready to serve you in any thing, for I believe thereby I should also advantage my self. Then the business is this, Crasus, I see that my Souldiers are quite spent with Labour, and have exposed themselves to much danger, and that now they think to have the richest City in all Afia, next to Babylon, and therefore I think 'tis but reasonable they should be something the better for it. For I know that unless they reap some benefit from their Labours, I can't expect to have them continue Obedient to me long. But yet I am not willing to yeild up the City, to be Plunder'd by them. For then the City would go near to be utterly destroy'd, and belides, I know that in luch pillaging those would get most who least deserve it. Upon the hearing of this, fays Crefus, let me tell some of the Lydians, whom I please, that I have prevail'd with you, that there shall be no plundering, and that their Wives and Children shall not be dragg'd from them, and that I have ingaged to you for this Priviledge, that the Lydians shall come and offer you of their own accord what ever is of any worth

worth in Sardis. For I am confident if they hear this, they bring you all the good things they have among them: And besides, by this means the City will be able to afford you a new supply of good things another year. Whereas if you suf- Arts are fer it to be plunder'd, all Trades and Arts which the Springs are the Seminaries of plenty will be destroy'd. But from besides, you will have time enough to think of whence plundering as you pass along, and survey every Riches thing. But in the first place, I would have you fend to my Treasures, and my Keepers shall furrender it up to those you employ. Cyrus liked all these proposals of Crasus very well.

But tell me Crasus (says he) what's become

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of what the Oracle of Delphos said to you. For they say that Oracle is in great esteem with you, and that you undertake every thing you do by his Direction. I wish things were so with me, Cyrus, but I have offended Apollo by doing things quite contrary at first. How do you mean (fays Cyrus) for methinks you foeak paradoxically. In the first place, says he, neglecting to inquire of him about the things which concern'd me; I must needs try whether he could give true answers Crasus or no. Now you know that not only God, but truth of the even good and honest Men don't love to have Answers their Integrity question'd. But when I perceiv'd given by the that I had not done wifely, being at a great Grade of dillance from Dephos, I fent to know of him Apollo. Whether I should have any Children or no. For the first time he would not so much as vouchsafe me an answer. But at length, after I had ingratiated my felf into his favour (as I thought) by presenting him with many Offerings, Gold and Gg2Silver,

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ſus.

Xenophon's Institution and Silver and frequent Sacrifices, I enquired of him again what I should do to have Children? He told me I should have Children. And indeed he was as good as his Word, for I had Children, but to little purpose: For one was very dumb, and the other a ever hopeful Young Man dyed in the very Flower of his Age. Having such ill Fortune with my Children, I fent to him again, and defired to know of him, what course I should take to spend the remaining part of my Life as happily as might be. His answer to me was this; You shall live happily, Crasus, if you know of the Ora- your felf. I was mightily pleased with this ancle to Cræ- swer, for I thought the Terms of my happiness were so casie, that the God did in a manner give it me. For indeed as for other Persons, they might partly be known, and partly not; but thought I, every one must needs know himself. And after this, as long as I lived in peace, I had nothing to Charge upon my Fortune fince the Death of my Son. But being overperswaded afterwards by the Affyrian to War against you, I went through dangers of all forts, and yet was preserved without sustaining any harm. And thus far I had no reason to complain of Apollo: For when I perceiv'd that I was not able to make my party good against you, by the help of Apollo, I and those that were with me made a safe e-Scape. But being again dissolv'd in the luxury of my present wealthy Condition, and overcome partly by the importunity of those who would have me head them, and partly by the Presents, whereby they oblige me, and partly by the flattery of those that told me, how ready all were

to obey me; and what a great man I should be, if I would but take the Command of the Army upon me; being puff'd up I say, with such Addreffes as these, and pleas'd to see my felf courted thus by Princes on all fides, to accept of the Generalls Office, I did so, as if I were capable of becoming some great Person. And this I did out of felf-ignorance, thinking my felf able to deal with you who are descended of the Gods, born of Kings, and from a Child train'd up to Arms. Whereas I was inform'd that of my Ancestours, he that first got the Kingdom, was made King, and a Free Man at the same time. Now since I did not consider these things, I deserve to be punish'd as I am. But now Cyrus, I know my felf: Do Crasius you think then that Apollo will be as good as disputes ahis Word to me now, fince he told me, I should gainst the be happy if I knew my self? And I ask you Oracle. the rather, because you seem at this time to be able to give a shrewder conjecture then another Man: For 'tis in you to make me fo. Then faid Cyrus, I would have you advise me Crasus in this case, for confidering with my felf your former happy Condition, I am mov'd with Compassion toward you, and therefore I do permit you to keep your Wife which you have at this time, and your Daughters (for I hear you have some) and your Friends and Servants, and to use the same Table which you did formerly: And I acquit you also from all military Service. Then says Crasus, you need not deliberate any longer what answer to make concerning my happiness. For I now tell you my felf, that if you do what you promise I shall be happy both in other mens Opinion Gg_3

rphat life may be accounted happy.

nion and my own too. Then faid Cyrus, and who is there that is so? My Wife, replied Crasus; for the was partaker with me of all my good Things, Delicacies and Mirth: But as for my Cares, and how it fares with me now, and what is the iffue of the Battel, she knows nothing of it. And you seem to be willing to make me as happy as I did her, whom I loved beyond any Person in the World. And therefore I think I must offer some more Prefents to Apollo, as a Tellimony of my Gratitude. When Cyrus heard these Words of Crasus, he admired at the even temper of his Mind. And ever after that time Cyrus had him along with him wherever he march'd, either because he thought him useful to him, or for the better security: After these discourses they parted, and went to Bed.

The next day Cyrus calling together his Friends and the Commanders of his Army, ordered some of them to receive the Treasures, others he employed in fetting aside such a proportion of the mony surrendred by Crefus for the Gods, which the Magi should think fit. The rest he order'd to be chested up and put in the Waggons, and to be carried about with them wherever they went, that so as occasion required every Men might receive his reward.

Which things were done accordingly.

Cyrus calling some of his Guard to him, tell me (fays he) did any of you see Abradatus? For I admire that whereas he used formerly to frequent my Company, now he does not appear: Whereat one of the Guard made answer, There is good reason for it, Sir, for he is not alive, but was kill'd in Abradaças, the Battel, when he made an onset upon the Egyptians with with his Chariots. 'Tis faid that all his men, except some few of his Friends, deserted him, assoon as they saw the Squadron of the Egyptians. And now they fay his Wife has took him up dead, and put him into the Sedan, which she used to be carry'd in her felf; and brought him hither to the River Pactolus. And 'tis reported that her Eunuchs and Servants are digging a Grave for him upon a little Hillock, and that his Wife fitting upon the Ground has dress'd him with all the Ornaments which the had about her, holding his Head in her Lap. Cyrus hearing this, struck his Thigh, and immediately mounting his Horse, and taking with him a thousand Horse-men made toward this Tragedy. But before he went, he left word with Gadatas and Gobryas, that they should take what Ornaments were proper for a dead Man, who was both a Man of Valour and a Friend, and follow prefently after them. He commanded also those who had Cattel with them, that they should drive more to the place where they heard he was, that so he might do Sacrifice for the dead.

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Now affoon as he saw the Lady sitting upon the Ground with the dead Body lying by her, he could not forbear shedding Tears at the fight, and Cyrus labroke forth into this passionate Expression: Alas ments the my dear Couragious and Faithful Soul, have you Abradathus left us? And with that he took him by the tas. Hand, which came off with his taking hold of it: For it had been cut off by an Egyptian Spear. Which when Cyrus saw, he was the more pasfionately concern'd for him: But his Wife fell a crying most grievously, and taking the Hand from Cyrus kiss'd it, and then put it on again as well

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made acquainted with the detah of

Cyrus is

The Lady commanding her Eunuchs to withdraw, till the had wept her fill, bad her Nurse to stay with her, and withal told her that the should cover her when the was dead and her husband with the same Cloth. Her Nurse begg'd her most earnestly not to think of doing any such thing to her self. But when the faw 'twas to no purpose, and that she only provoked her passion the more, she sate by her weeping. Then the Lady drawing out a dagger which the had before provided for that purpose, Panthea Stabb'd her self, and leaning her head upon her statistical husbands breast dies. The Nurse after a great deal of felf. Lamentation coverd them both according as Panthea, had order'd. Cyrus assoon as he had heard what the Lady had done, came in a great fright to try whether he could bring any help. Her three Eunuchs when they saw what was done, drew out their Daggers, and without any more ado Stabb'd themselves in the very place where she order'd them to fland. And now they say the Monument is built the Mount of along as far as the place where the Eunuchs flood. Abrada-In the upper Pillar the names of the Man and the tas, Woman are said to be written in Syriae letters, and Panthea underneath they say there are three Pillars more and her Euwith this Inscription, Royal. Cyrus as he drew nigh to this fad Spectacle flood amazed at the passion of the Lady, and when he had sufficiently Lamented her went away; But he took special care (as 'twas fit he should) that they might be honorably treated, and accordingly made, they fay, a great and stately Monument for them.

After this the Carians happening to have a Sedition among them, and waging War against one another who should inhabit the fortify'd places, both Parties applied

well as the could, and faid, all the rest Cyrus is so as this. But to what purpose is it for you to see more? But I know he came to this upon my account, and perhaps Cyrus as much upon yours too. For I like a Fool as I was pull'd him on forward with much earnestness, that he would make it appear by some confiderable adventure or other what a friend of yours he was, and he, I know, did not mind what happen'd to him, so that he might but gratifie you by some eminent piece of Service. So now he is dead and gone without the least stain of dishonour behind him, but I sit here alive by him who put him upon these attempts. Cyrin having wept a pretty while filently to himfelf, at length says he, But however (Lady) he has died Honourably, for he is gone off with Victory. But do you take this which I give you, and adorn him with it (for now Gobryas and Gadatas were come with plenty of rich Ornaments with them) and know that I have yet other Honours in reserve for him, for he shall have a Monument made for him suitable to his Quality, and withal such Sacrifices offer'd for him, as become a Man of his Valour. And you for your part shall not be left desolate, for I will ever honour you for your Chasticy and your other Vertues, and leave you in Charge with one that shall carry you about whither so ever you are minded to go. Only let me know whither you would be carried. Then said Panthea, don't trouble your self about that, Cyrus, you shall be sure to know to whom I intend to go. Cyrus after these discourses went away, pittying the Woman for the loss of fuch an Husband, and the Husband for being taken away from the fight of fuch a Wife.

The 100

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now at Sardis taken up in making of Engine and

Cyrus fends Forria.

Adulius

Caria.

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battering Rams, that he might beat down the Walls of them that refused to yield. In the mean while he sent Adusius a Persian, a prudent Man and well Skill'd in Military affairs and of a complaifant Wit. cesinto Ca. with an Army unto Caria. The Cilicians and the Cyprians readily joyning themselves to him. Which forwardness of theirs was the reason why he never fent a Governour among the Cilicians and Cyprians, contenting himself with the Governours of their own nation. But he exacted Tribute from them, and a Supply of Souldiers as often as he had occasion. Assoon as Adustus was come with his Army into Caria, some of each party came to him, offering to is fent into admit him within the Works to the detriment of the contrary Faction. Adulius dealt alike with both of them, telling each faction that the other made the most reasonable offers, and that they should keep all things private, that the adverse party might not know that there was a League of Friendship. betwixt them, as if by this means he intended to affault the other party when they were least provided. Moreover he would have both Parties swear to him, that they would admit the Persians within the Works without any fraud, and to the good of Cyrus and the Persians. And he also would swear himfelf that he would enter within the Works without any fraud; and what was more, to the benefit of those that admitted him: When he had thus delivered his mind to them, he enter'd into the same engagement with both of them, feverally, whereupon he was admitted within the Castle with his

Horse, and took possession of both their Fortifica-

tions.

tions. Assoon as 'twas light next day he sate in publick with his Army, and fummon'd together as many as were convenient. When they faw each other they began to look very forrowfully, as suspecting that both of them were brought into a Snare. But while they were thus furmiting, Adu-Adm. five spoke to them to this purpose. I have obliged composes my felf by an Oath to you ye Carians that I would the Diffeenter within your Walls without any fraud, and to amongst the the benefit of those that gave me admission. Where- Carlans. fore if I destroy either of you, it must be granted that I enter'd these Walls to the hurt of the Carians, but if I make peace between you, and so order the matter that you enjoy your Country in quietness and security, then I shall think that you are no loofers by my coming. Know therefore that from this very day forwards, you must converse friendly one among another, and till your Ground without tears and suspitions, and give your Children in Marriage one among another, and if any one offers to begin any disturbance, both Cyrus and my self will be their profest Enemy. Whereupon the Gates of the Castles were immediately open'd, and the Ways full of Passingers going to and fro, and the Fields were full of Husband-men. There were feafting days kept on both fides, and all things were full of Peace and Mirth. In the mean while there were some Messengers came from Cyrus, who ask'd Adusius whether he wanted another Army or any Engins, or no. To whom Adulius made answer, That he could use the very same Army elsewhere also. And with that he drew off his Army, leaving some Souldiers to Guard the Towers: But the Carians were very earnest with him to tarry with

Tributary

to Cyrus.

cordingly.

But

with them, which when he refused to do, they fent some of their men with a petition to Cyrus, that he would make Adusius their Governour.

Cyrus in the mean time had fent away Hystaspas with an Army into Phrygia near the Hellespont: As soon therefore as Adusius was arrived, Cyrus commanded him to follow after Hystaspas with his Ar. my, that so they might be the more pliable to H_{V} . staspas, when they heard that another Army was coming after behind. The Grecians that border'd upon the Sea-side had purchased by a great sum of money, that they might not admit the Barbarians The Græclans made within their Walls, but yet they were tributary, and bound to affist Cyrus in his Wars whenever he

required them. But the King of Phrygia, began to

make Preparations as if he would defend his Walls

and not obey the Summons, and so likewise he de-The King of clared he would do. But after that his Deputy Phrygia is Governours revolted from him, and he was left zaken.

alone, he came at length into the Hands of Hystaspas, and the cause was committed to the judgment of Cyrus. Hystaspas having left a strong Garrison of the Persians in the Towers drew off, and led with him befides his own Company a great many of the Phrygians both Horse-men and Target-men. But Cyrus had given Order to Adusius, that after he had joyn'd himself to Hystaspus he should bring those Phrygians who sided with him arm'd as they were; but as for those that would have stood it out, he should take away from them their Horses and their Arms, and command them to follow all behind with Slings. And this was done so ac-

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But Cyrus moved now from Sardis, and having left a confiderable Guard of Foot there, and retaining Crasius also with him, he carried away with him a great many Waggons full laden with plenty, and Variety of Wealth. Then Grasus came to him and brought him an exact Catalogue of every thing that was in every one of the Waggons, telling him: If you take this Inventory, Cyrus, you will know who restores his Charge honestly again, and who does not. To which Cyrus replied, you do Cyrus very well Crasus in being so Provident, but I in- shews bimvery well Crajus in being to Provident, but I in- felf not to tend that those shall carry these Riches who are be Coveworthy to possess them. So that if they filch any rous. thing, it shall be nothing but what is their own. And with that he gave the Papers to his Friends and his Captains, that fo they might know who deliver'd up their Charge sase and sound, and who not. He had also with him some of the Lydians, whom he observed to be Curious and neat in looking to their Arms, Horses and Chariots, and whom he observ'd to be Studious and Industrious how to please him: These he led with him in their Armour. But as for those whom he observ'd to follow him grudgingly and unwillingly, he took their Horses and gave them to those Persians that first went with him to the Wars. He also disarm'd them, and made them follow behind with Slings: Because that kind of Armour is counted the most fervile of any. And besides it sometimes happens that the Slingers when they are back'd with other Forces do a world of good, but if they are alone they are not able to stand before a very few Souldiers that fight Hand to Hand.

But

IIO But as Cyrus was marching on in the way that Cyrus brings ma- leads to Babylon, he subdued the people of the greany Coun-

ter Phrygia, the Cappadocians and the Arabians, with tries under whose Armour he arm'd no less then forty thouhis Yoke, fand of the Persian Horse. And many of the Cap. tives Horles, he distributed among his Fellow-Soul-

And rediers. And thence he came to Babylon with a vaft turns to number of Horse, with many Archers and Darters; and an innumerable Company of Slingers. And when he was come to Babylon, he placed his Army

all round about the City; and he himself with some of his Friends and a few other Souldiers travers'd round the City. After he had survey'd the Walls he was preparing to draw off his Army. when a certain Renegade came to him out of the City, and told him that the Babylonians had a defign to fet upon him when his Army retreated.

For, fays he, when they beheld your Army from the Walls it feem'd to them very inconfiderable, which indeed is no wonder, for fince the Walls which they furrounded are of a very large compass, the Army must needs be reduced to a great thinness.

Cyrus's

stratagem.

Which when Cyrus heard, he went and flood in the middle of his Army with the retinue that was with him, and gave Order that the Souldiers which were heavy-arm'd at each extremity of the Squadron should repair to that part of the Army which stood still, till each extremity met in the middle. Which when done, those that stood still were the more encouraged, because the Body of their Army was now doubled, and those that drew off were likewise more confirm'd in Confidence. For before, those that stood still were just close by

the Enemy. But when both extremities were met

and

Book VII. and embodyed together, they flood more truss and compacted, both those that drew off, because all those who were beyond them, and likewise those beyond, because of those who clapp'd in behind. Their Squadrons being thus order'd, it must needs be that the foremost and hindermost were the firongest, and that the weaker fort were placed in the middle. Which order feems to be the most advantagious to fight in, and most convenient to prevent escape. Besides, the thicker the Body was made, the Horse-men and those that were light arm'd drew from the Wings the nigher to the Leader. When they were thus collected together, they retreated leifurely from the place whence the Artillery was discharged upon them: And when they were got out of reach they faced about, with their Shields before them; and in this posture they flood and view'd the Walls. And the further they were off, the feldomer did they change their po-

flure. But when they apprehended themselves out

of danger, they retreated in a full Body till they

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came to their Tents. Where being now arrived, Cyrus calling toge-Cyrus ther as many as he thought necessary, thus bespoke shows what them: We have taken a survey of the City (Fel- way he low-Souldiers) on all fides, and truly how fuch thinksit strong and high Walls may be taken, I confess I most converdo not know. Only this I must tell you, that the siege Baby. more men are in the City and come not out to lon. fight, the easier 'twill be to starve them into com-

pliance. And therefore unless any of you can think of a better Expedient, I think that must be our way to deal with them. Then faid Chryfantas, Docs this River which is above a quarter of a Mile broad Chryfantas gives his Opinion

go through the City? Yes (replied Gobryus) and tis so deep withall, that if two Men should stand allo, which one upon the other they would not reach above is rejected. Water: Whence it comes to pass that the City owes more of its strength to the River then to the Walls. Then faid Cirus, let us let alone those things Chryfant which we are not able to compass. And let every one fall to work and cast a large and deep Trench, such as may need but few to Guard it. Having therefore measured out a space of Ground all round the Walls, leaving some void space on this fide the River, as much as would serve for some Out-works, he cast a great Trench about the Walls, throwing up the Earth toward themselves. Then he built Towers by the River, founding them upon Palm-Trees, which were no less then an hundred yards tall, (for there are some of a greater length then this:) And 'tis the nature of Palm-Trees when they are press'd with any weight to rife up into a great bunch, just as the backs of Asses do that carry Burthens. And these Palm-Trees he chose for the Foundation of his Towers, that he might observe the manner of those that lay siege against a City, that though the River should get into the Trench, yet the Tower might still stand fast. He rais'd also many other Towers upon the Earth that was thrown up, that there might be a great many places for standing Sentinel: And thus were Cyrus his Men employ'd. But those that stood upon the Walls laugh't at this siege, having Provision enough to last them above twenty years. Which when Cyrus understood he divided his Army into twelve parts, that so every part might keep Ward one month in a year. When the Babylonians

Babylonians heard of this, they laught fo much the more, as thinking with themselves that they should have the Phrygians, Lydians, Arabians and Cappadocians to keep Ward against them: Who, as they thought, were better affected toward themselves, then toward the Persians. And now by this the Trenches were made.

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But Cyrus hearing that the Babylonians were to have a great Festival celebrated, when they used to revel all night long, as foon as it was dark by the help of a great many Hands, he open'd a passage into the Trench toward the River. When this was done, the Water flow'd into the Trenches by night, so that that part of the River which ran through the City began at length to be passable. When this had taken effect, Cyrus commanded the chief Officers of his Horse and Foot to come to him. and that they should each of them lead their Thoufands, divided into two Companies. And that the rest of their Fellows should follow behind after their wonted manner. When these were come. Cyrus fent some of his Horse and Foot into the shallow parts of the River, to try whether it was passable or no. And when they had brought word that it was passable, then calling together the Officers of his Horse and Foot, he thus deliver'd himself to them. This River (Fellow-Souldiers) has afforded us a passage into the City: Let us therefore enter with Courage and fear nothing, but let us confider, that those whom we now let upon are the very same which we overcame before, when they were affisted by Neighbour Forces: When they were all awake and fober, arm'd and in Martial order. But now we go against them at a time when Hh

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when many of them are fast asleep, many drunks and all in a diforderly posture. And besides, when they once know that we are got within them, they will be ten times more impotent then they are now, because they will be in a Consternation. But if any be terrified with that which uses to be most formidable to those that enter Cities, lest getting up upon their Houses they throw down things upon us, let that rather add to your Courage. For if any climb up into the tops of their Houses, we have, you know, the God Vulcan for our Fellow-Souldier. And their Porches are very easy to take fire: For their Doors are made of Palm-Tree, and daub'd over with Sulphur which is very apt to kindle. And we for our parts have good store of Torches, Pitch and Tow which will quickly kindle a great fire, fo that they must of necessity either quickly leave their Houses or be quickly burnt. But come on and take to your Arms, and I by the help of the Gods will lead you the way. But do you Gadatas and Gobryas, shew us which way we must take, because you know it, and affoon as we are come in, lead us to the Palace. Then faid those that were with Gobryas, 'tis no wonder if the Gates of the Palace stand now open, for the whole City seems this night to be given up to Revelling. But however we shall light upon the Watch before the Gates of the Palace, forasmuch as they always stand there. Come, says takes Ba-Cyrus, let us not lose time, but make hast that we they were may take them napping: And with that they marched on. Those that met with them were either

kill'd or fled, and made a great noise. Gobryas his

ding that they also belong'd to the Revel. *Thus

they

grees with Company answer'd them in the same noise, preten-

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they kept on till at length they were come to the Palace: Where they found the Gates shut; but those that were commanded to set upon the Guard, fell upon them while they were drinking by a great fire, and used them after the hostile manner. But assoon as there began to be a great clamour and noise, and those that were within perceived the Tumult, the King commanded them to fee what was the matter, and some of them open'd the Gates and ran out.

When Gadatas his men perceived the Gates were open, they presently rush'd in, and following hard upon them, and slaying them as they retreated, they came where the King was, and found him standing with his Sword drawn. But he was easily overcome by the more numerous Company of Gadatas and Gobryas. And those also that guarded him were all slain, some flying and others offering to defend themselves as well as they could. Cyrus sent his Troops of Horse all about the ways with a Commission to kill all those whom they found stragling out of their Houses, but as for those who were within Doors he fent them word by some that understood the Syriac Language that they should keep within, and that if any one were caught without doors it should be as much as his life was worth.

But when Gadatas and Gobryas were come to Cyrus, they first of all gave thanks to the Gods for giving them the opportunity of punishing such in impious King, then they kis'd Cyrus his Hands and Feet and wept for the very excels of joy. The next day when twas light those that kept the Walls

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Xenophon's Institution and Book VII perceiving that the City was taken, and that the King was kill'd, they furrender'd up all without any more adoe. Cyrus took the Castles, and placed a Garrison in them. He gave their Friends leave to bury their dead, and order'd a Proclamation to be made by his Heraulds, that the Babylonians should come and bring in their Arms, denouncing death to all those in whose Houses any Arms should be found. They brought in their Arms accordingly, which Cyrus put up in the Towers that they might be in readiness upon any occasion: When this was done he call'd his Magi, and commanded them that fince the City was taken in War, they should lay aside the chiefest part of the spoils for the Honour of the Gods, and that they should assign Temples for them. Then he made a distribution of the other Houses and Palaces among them whom he took to have the greatest share in what was done. And after this manner he distributed according to his old rule, the best to those who had best deserv'd: And in case any one thought he had less then his due, he said he would have him come to him and tell him fo. He gave order also that the Babylonians should till the Field, pay Tribute and discharge those Duties which were allotted to every one. He commanded the Persians and their Affociates, and as many of his Fellow-Souldiers as would tarry with him, to shew themselves like Masters to those that were delivered to their Charge.

And from that time Cyrus himself also began How Cyto take upon him the state of a King, and to this rus got purpose he was advised by his Friends to appear in him(elf honour'd as publick but seldom, and that after a more splendid King. manne

manner then before; which he contrived after this manner: Early in the morning he flood in a convenient place and admitted any one to come to him that had any business with him, and when he had given him his answer, he dismis'd him. But when his men understood the time of access, they came in vast Multitudes to him. So that there was great thronging and quarrelling among them who hould come first. His Officers gave them admittance as well as they could according to their Quality; and if any one of his Friends appear'd pressing forward among the croud, then Cyrus reached out his Hand and pluck'd them to him, faying to them, Stay a little my Friends till we have dispatch'd this croud, and then we will converse at leisure. Wherefore his Friends waited, and in the mean while the croud increased, till the evening was come upon him before he could have opportunity of converling with his Friends. Therefore Cyrus said to them: Now Friends 'tis high time to adjourn, but to morrow morning I would have you be here again: For I have something to say to you. When his Friends heard this they departed contentedly, though by reason of waiting up and down they had neglected their necessary affairs. So for that night they betook themselves to their rest.

Life of Cyrus the Great.

The next day Cyrus was present in the same place, and now a greater Multitude of Visitants throng'd to come to him then before, who had got the start of his Friends. Cyrus therefore setting a Guard of Persian Spear-men in a large compass round about him, commanded them to admit none besides his Friends, and the Persian Captains, and

thole Hh 3

done

Book VII. those of his Fellow-Souldiers; when these were come together before him he made this Oration to them. We have no reason (Friends and Fellow-Souldiers) to complain of the Gods, as if hitherto all things had not succeeded according to our defires. But if this be the fruits of performing great exploits, that a man cannot be matter of his own time, nor have the freedome of enjoying his Friends, farewel all fuch happiness. For you know I began early in the morning Yesterday to hear those that came to me, and that 'twas quite night before I was released. And now you see those same Persons, and a great many more besides are come here again to find me more work. And therefore if a man will once indure this I see I shall have but little of your Company, and you of mine. But of my own Company I know I shall have none at all. Besides I take notice of another thing, which feems to me very odd and ridiculous. For to you I stand affected as I ought, but of these that flock round about me I scarce know so much as one, and yet these are so ready to press forward that they would prevent you in their Petitions if they could. Whereas on the contrary I think the best way for these Petitioners would be to study how to oblige my Friends, and to desire them to introduce them. But perhaps some of them may say, Why did he not use this Method at first, but afford himfelf freely to all Commers? Why, because I understood that the Nature of War was such, that a Commander ought not to be the last either in understanding or in doing what was necessary. And if Commanders should appear but seldome, they must needs Omit many things which ought to be

done. But now we have finish'd the greatest part of our Wars and enjoy a little respite, I am willing now to confult my own eafe. Wherefore fince I am in doubt what is best to be done for the security both of our own affairs and theirs whom we ought to be concern'd for, let some body or other advise with me and propose what he thinks most convenient. These were the words of Cyrus. Then stood up

Artabazus, he that said that he was Cyrus his Kins-

man, and said, Indeed Cyrus you have well done in beginning this discourse. For when you were very young I began to get an interest in your Friendship, but when I saw that you stood in no need of my Services, I was something scrupulous of coming to you. But when you defired me by chance to deliver the Commands of Cyanares to the Medes, I thought with my self that if I serv'd you readily in this, I might ingratiate my felf with you, and have the priviledge of converfing with you, which I defired for a long while. And that Charge indeed I perform'd well, so that you your self commended me. For 'twas then that the Hyrcanians first began to League with us, at a time when we were very destitute of assistants. So that we could e'ne have hugg'd them in our Arms for very kindness. After that when the Enemies Tents were taken I thought you were not at leifure for me, and indeed I forgave you on that score. At that time Gobryas enter'd into League with us, which was matter of great joy to me, and Gadatas too; And now I thought 'twould be exceeding difficult to have access to you. And then when the Sacians and Cadusians came over to us, 'twas but Hh 5

but fit you should attend upon them because they did upon you. But after that we were return'd to the place from whence we first set out, because I saw you were taken up in ordering your Horses, Chariots and Engins, fure, thought I, when this bufiness is over he will be at leasure for me. But when we were alarm'd with that terrible News. that almost all the World were banded together against us, I was sensible that we then stood upon a very ticklish point, but in case things succeeded well I feem'd to be pretty well affured of having very intimate Converse with you. And now at length we have with much adoe overcome, the Sardians with Crafus himself are in Subjection to us, Babylon we have taken and reduced all things within our Power, and yet by Mithres Yesterday I could no come to you had I not struggled with the croud. But when you took me by the Hand and commanded me to fit down by you, then was I fain to fit there a whole day in the view of the Multitude without either meat or drink. Now therefore if things may be so order'd that those that have deserv'd most at your Hands may enjoy your Company most, well and good, but if not, I will again in your own words give order that all shall withdraw from you except those that have been your Friends from the beginning. Then Cyrus and a great many more laugh'd heartily.

Xenophon's Institution and

Then stood up Chrysantas the Persian and said thus, You did very well Cy us formerly in exposing your felf to common view, partly for the reasons you your felf just now mention'd, and partly because we were not worthy of such a particular regard: For we were then with you upon our own account. But it was necessary for you at that time to procure a Multitude at any rate, that they might thare with us in undertaking Labours and undergoing dangers. But now you are in this Condition and can have more supplies of Souldiers when you please, 'tis fit now that you as well as others should have a fixt abode. For what will you be the better for your Empire if you alone want an Habitation, then which nothing is counted more facred among men, nor more peculiarly our own. Besides, do you think we are not ashamed to see you weather it out abroad, when we in the mean time live in our Houses, and seem to be in a better Condition than you. When Chryfantas had thus spoken he was feconded by others who approved of his opinion.

Then Cyrus enter'd into the Palace, and those that carried the Mony from Sardis here delivered up their Charge. Affoon as he was enter'd, in the first place he did Sacrifice to Vesta, and then to Tupiter and some other Gods, as the Magi thought fit. When this was done he began to take other business in Hand. And when he confider'd with himself what a Charge he had taken upon him, who was to Govern such a vast Multitude of People, and that he was to relide in fuch a great and Famous City, which was as ill affected toward him as it could possibly be, these things considered he thought he had great need of a Guard, confidering withall that Cyrus Men were never so exposed to Violence as when takesaLifethey were eating or drinking, bathing or Sleeping: Guard. He made it his care to procure such as should be faithful to him in these Circumstances. And he was of Opinion that no Man could ever be faithful and trufty, who had a greater love for some other

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for that

purpose.

then for him whom he was to Guard. He considered withall that those who had Children or agreeable Wives, or any other indearments of affection. were under a kind of Natural necessity of loving them best. But seeing the Eunuchs were destitute of all these, he thought they would have them in

made choice of Eunuchs greatest esteem, by whom they might raise their Fortunes, be avenged of their Injuries, and be graced with Honours. And withall he thought that there was none that could oblige them by more Favours than himself. Besides, whereas Eunuchs are in great disesteem and contempt with other men, for that very reason they want the protection of a Master. For every one will think to take place of an Eunuch in all things, unless he be restrain ned by the dread of some higher Power. But now nothing hinders but that he that is faithful may take place of others, tho' he be an Eunuch. And whereas it might be objected that Eunuchs are much the weaker for being fo, Cyrus was of a different opinion, observing that it was not so in other Creatures. For mad unruly Horses when they are cut cease indeed to bite People, and abate something of their frolicksomeness, but however they are still fit for the services of War. And so Bulls when they are cut remit something of their Rage and untractableness, but yet they retain their strength to Labour. And in like manner Doggs when they are cut are as good for keeping the House or for hunting as ever they were: So Men are not indeed altogether so brisk after they are quit of the Heat of Concupiscence, but yet they are never the more negligent in performing the business, or unfit to ride, or throw Darts, or less ambitious of Honour and Praise,

as may appear from that Emulation which they difcover both in Wars and hunting. And as for their fidelity they have given great proofs of it when their Masters have been kill'd: For none have shewn themselves more faithful in their Masters Calamities, then Eunuchs have done. And if they should have some smal disadvantage in point of bodily strength, yet Arms will make the weak equal to the strong in War. These things consider'd he chose all his Life-Guard, his very Porters not excepted, from among the Eunuchs. But confidering withall that this Guard would not be enough to defend him against the Multitude of those that were disaffected, he look't out for some others whom he thought Corns most faithful to Guard his Palace. And because takes himhe knew that the Persians who were left at home self more lived very hardly by reason of their poverty, and Guards, indured a great deal of Labour partly because of the out of the roughness of the place, and partly because they were forc'd to Work with their own hands, these' he thought would be very ready to embrace such a way of life with him. He chose therefore among them ten thousand spear-men who should keep Ward round about the Palacenight and day, whenever he was within. But if he was gone abroad any whither, they were to Guard him on each side as he went.

And because he thought that all Babylon stood in need of a Garrison which might be able to defend it, whether he himself was nigh at hand or afar off, he placed a Garrison there, and order'd the Babylonians to pay a set stipend toward the maintaining it, because he would keep them low that so they might be the more tractable. And this is

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Souldiers

with him.

the flate both of the Kings personal and of the City Guard to this day. Moreover casting with him. felf how he might maintain the Empire which he had, and gain more he confider'd that these Tributary-men did not so far exceed his other Subjects keeps the in goodness, as they came short of them in numrest of the ber, and therefore he thought best to retain those flout men with him, by whose assistance and the favour of Heaven he had got himself this degree of Power, and to take care that they might not intermit their exercise in Arms. And that this might not feem a mere arbitrary Imposition upon them, but that they themselves might be convinced that this was the best course, and consequently might persevere in the exercise of Martial Vertue, he fummon'd together the Peers of Persia, and as many others as he thought worthy to share in the Labour and the Profit: And when they were convened he made this Oration to them. We are much indebted to the Gods (My Friends and Fellow-Souldiers) that they have granted us the possession of those things, whereof we thought our selves worthy. We are now in the possession of a large and rich Country, and we have those that will manure it for our maintenance. We have Houses, and those too well furnished: Neither is there any reason why any of you should scruple at the posselfion of these things, for 'tis an eternal Law among all Men, that when a City is taken in War the Bodies and Fortunes of those that are in the City shall be in the disposal of the Conquerour. And therefore you have a just Title to what you possess, but if you permit

the Enemy to retain any thing, that is whol-

Xenophon's Institution and

ly to be imputed to your courtefy. But now concerning what is to be done next, this is my opinion: If we turn to the lazy and Voluptuous life of poor-spirited Men, who think Labour the most miserable thing in the World, and Idleness the greatest pleasure; we shall soon become unprofitable to our felves, and lose what now we have. For tis not enough that we were once Valiant-Men to make us continue so, unless by diligence and indufiry we still keep our selves in ure. For as other arts dwindle away through neglect, and as our Bodies though in never so good Health yet grow out of order for want of Exercise: So Temperance, Continence and Fortitude by a little intermission will by degrees degenerate into Debauchery. We must not therefore be idle and indulge our Sloth, nor rush greedily upon that which is sweet at present. For I think it a great Atchievment to gain a Kingdom, but I think it a much greater to keep it: For to gain it, often times nothing more is required then to be bold and dare. But to the keeping it there is required Temperance, Continence and a great deal of care and wife management. And therefore confidering this, we ought to Exercise our Vertues more now then before we were in possetsion of these things: And besides, we must know that the more any one possesses, the more Envy, Treachery and Hostility he is obnoxious to, especially if he has Mens goods and Services against their wills, as 'tis our case: We have reason to expect the favour of the Gods; For we did not come by these things through Treachery or Injustice, but we reveng'd the Treachery which was defigned against us. Now that which

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reft.

is next best we must obtain for our felves, and that is to think our selves worthy of Government, no farther, then we are better then our Subiects. 'Tis necessary that our Servants share with us in heat and cold, meat and drink, labour and fleep, but these things must be so common to them with us, that in every of these things we shew our selves Superior to them. But we must Communicate nothing of our Military Discipline and Exercise to them, whom we keep only to Labour for us and to pay Tribute, but we must excel them in these Exercises, and know that they are given us by the Gods as Instruments of Liberty and Happiness. And as we have deprived them of their Arms, so we must never be without them our felves, well knowing that those have all things at command as their own, who are constantly ready furnish'd with Arms. Now if any one should throw in this Objection, What then are we the better for obtaining what we wish'd for, if we must still endure hunger and thirst, care and Labour? You must consider that the precedent labour does always sweeten the enjoyment. For Labour is the greatest Banquet that can be to men of Generous Minds. But 'tis not all the sumptuousness in the World that will make that sweet and grateful which a man did not stand greatly in need of before he had it. But if as Providence affords us what men most desire, so to make them relish the better every one provides them for himself, such a man will be in a much better Condition than other indigent Persons in this respect, because his hunger will sweeten his meat, and his thirst will sweeten his drink, and his weariness will indear his

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rest. Wherefore I think 'tis our interest to keep up our Military Discipline as becomes men, that we may find the more relish in what we enjoy, and secure our selves from experimenting the greatest of Afflictions. For 'tis not half so grievous a thing not to get, as 'tis to lose what a man has gotten. Besides I would have you consider, what cause we have to pretend for an idle life now more then we had before. Is it because we are in Power? But 'tis a disparagement for those that Govern to be worse then their Subjects: Is it because we seem now to be in a more flourishing Condition then before? Can Idleness then be warrantable in a prosperous Fortune? Shall we animadvert upon those Servants which we have if they behave themselves amiss. But with what face can he that does ill himself punish others, for idleness or any other misdemeanour? Besides, I would have you consider that we have undertaken to maintain a great number of Guards both for our Persons and our Houses. Now what a shameful thing will it be that when we think we stand in need of others Guards, we be not Guards to our felves. But you must know there is no fuch Guard in the World as for a man to be Diligent and Valiant. For this will always inseparably attend us. But he that wants this, will never speed well in any thing else. What is it then that I would have you do? And wherein would I have you employ your Valour and Gare? Why I will lay no new Injunction upon you, but as the Peers among the Persians live at the Court, so would I have you Peers that are here take to the same employment which we used there: And I would have you be intent upon me and observe whether I make it my business to mind my Duty, and I in like manner will observe you, and those whom I perceive to be careful and diligent I will honour and reward. Moreover we will here educate those Children which we have here. For 'twill be a means to improve our selves, if we endeavour to shew good Examples to our Children, and 'twill not be an easy matter for our Children to grow debauch'd if they would never so sain, when they shall neither see nor hear any thing that is filthy, but shall spend their whole days in the Study and Discipline of Vertue.

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XENOPHON'S NSTITUTION AND

CYRUS the GREAT.

THE EIGHT BOOK.

Hese were the Words of Cyrus: Then Chrysantas stood up and spoke to this essect. I have long since observ'd (Fellow-Souldiers) that in divers respects there is no difference between a good Prince and a good Father. For Fathers provide for their Children that they may want nothing that is good for them, and Cyrus seems now to advise us to those things which make for our Happiness. But in as thick as he seems to me to have said something less then

then the matter required, I will endeavour to make up what is wanting for your better Information. Think then with your felves, what City of the Enemy can be taken by those who will not obey the Commands of their Governour? Or what City of our Friends can be preserv'd by them? What Army of Rebellious Souldiers can obtain the Victory? How can men be more eafily overcome in Battel, then when they perfue every one a divided interest? Or what other great exploit can be done by those who refuse to resign themselves to the conduct of their Governours? What Cities can be rightily order'd? What Families can be kept up? How do Ships arrive to the place which they are bound for? How have we our felves attain'd to this prosperous Condition we are now in any otherwise then by yielding Obedience to our Governour? For by this means we speedily arrived, whether by day or night to all places according as our business lay. And while we follow'd our Governour all in a Body, none were able to fland before us, neither did we leave any thing done by halves of all that was commanded us. If therefore to be obedient be the greatest good in order to the obtaining all other good things, know for certain that it is also the greatest good in order to the preserving what is already obtain'd. Consider moreo. ver that before many exercis'd power over us, and we over none, but now your Condition is such that some of you command more and some less. As therefore you think it fit that you should be obey'd by those who are under your Command, so let us obey those to whom in Duty we are bound. And let there be this difference betwixt us and Servants

that

Book VIII. Life of Cyrus the Great. that whereas they ferve their Masters grudgingly

and unwillingly, let us if we are in love with liberty, do those things of our own accord which are most commendable. And you shall find (fays he) that those Cities which are not under Monarchical Government, yet if they obey their Magistrates with all diligence, will hardly ever be brought into Subjection by the Enemy. Let us therefore according to the order of Cyrus be always in readiness here at the Court, and exercise our selves in our Arms, that so we may keep what we have got, and offer our Services to Cyrus that he may use them to what he thinks expedient. For this we must know, that Cyrus cannot find out any thing that may promote his own private interest divided from ours. We have both one Interest, and both the same Enemies. When Chrysantas had thus said, the other Persians and Fellow-Souldiers rose up and gave their approbation to what had been faid. Whereupon 'twas resolv'd that the Nobles should always stand at the Gates and offer their Services to Cyus, till he should please to dismiss them.

Which decree is still observed by them that are under the Kings Dominions in Asia, in as much as they are very Officious in frequenting the Gates of their Princes. And as Cyrus (as we have ob- Cyrus Love ferv'd) had so order'd the Constitution of the Go- a solid vernment that he might preferve it to himself and Foundation the Persians; so the Kings that came after him of Governwrote after his copy. But it falls out in this as in ment. all other things, when he that has the Government in his Hands is a better Man then ordinary, then the Antient Rites and Customs are kept more

I i 2 exactly, exactly, but if otherwise, more remissly. The Nobles therefore frequented the Gates of Cyrus with their Horses and Spears, in conformity to the order of those chief Men that were Partners with him in the overthrow of that Kingdom. But the rest had other things by Cyrus committed to their Charge. For some were Toll-gatherers, some were Stewards, some were Overseers of his Buildings, some were Treasurers and some were Caterers to buy in Provision. And to some he committed the care of his Horses and his Dogs, that he might have them

train'd up for his use. But that those whom he would have to share with him in maintaining his happy Condition might be improved to great degrees of excellence, this he made his own peculiar Care, and would not leave it in Charge with others. For he knew that if any time he should be ingaged in War he must take his Guard from among those who had been exercised in the most desperate services, and that the Captains of his Horse and Foot must be taken also from the same Nursery. He knew also that he should make use of some of their fervices that they might be Deputy Governours of Cities and whole Nations, and that some of them might be employ'd upon Embassy. Which he took to be a thing of the most confiderable moment, that so he might obtain what he had a mind to without being forc'd to wage War for it. And if thole by whom the greatelt businesses of state were to be managed were not fuch as they should be, he though his Condition

Emballadors very necessary would be none of the best. But if they were, then he in all Gothought all would go well. And being he was of vernment.

Life of Cyrus the Great. gook VIII. this Perswasion, he did all he could to make them

He thought it also necessary that he himself should apply himself to the exercise of Vertue: For he thought it a great piece of indecency that he should incite others to great and laudable performances if he was not as he ought to be himself, which when he consider'd he found that he had need in the first place of leisure and opportunity if he would enter upon great designs. He thought it impossible that he should neglect his revenues, because he saw there were great expences in a great Kingdom. And again, whereas his revenue was very great, he knew he should be always taken up in the Care of managing it, and that that would call him off from the greater concerns of state. Wherefore while he was considering how his private Affairs might be rightly order'd, and he, in the mean time enjoy his opportunities of leifure, he call'd to mind how 'twas with the Military Officers. For, for the most part the Captains of ten take Care of their ten, and the Captains of the Regiments take Care of the Captains of ten, the Tribunes take Care of the Captains of the Regiments, and the Captains of ten thousand take care of the Tribunes. By which means it comes to pass that among so many thousands none are left uncared for: And when the head General is pleased to employ the Army, 'tis but to give his Orders to the Captains of ten thousand and the work's done. Cyrus therefore made use of the fame Method in the Administration of his domestick Affairs, so that he needed only to impart his mind to a few, and his private concerns would by no means.

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means be neglected. By which means he had more leisure then either any House-holder or Master of a Ship. And having thus order'd his own Affairs he taught those of his Court to do the like. And so procured leisure both to himself and to his Friends.

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Cyrus his may to bring his so Court.

After this he took upon him to reform those who lived at Court with him: And in the first place he look't after those who were able to live People often by the Labour of others, tho' they never came to Court. Because he thought those that were prefent would not be guilty of any mildemeanour, partly because they were in the Kings presence, and partly because they knew that they should have the chiefest of the Nation continual eye witnesses of their Actions. But for those who were not present, he thought that either Intemperance, Injuffice or Negligence were the causes of their absence. Wherefore upon that account he compell'd them to be refident: Which he did by authorizing some of his dearest Friends to take Possession of their Goods when they were absent. When this was done, those that were disposses'd of their Goods came and fued for Juffice. But 'twas always a long time before Cyrus would suffer the matter to come to a hearing. And after he had heard it, he used to delay a long time before he would give Sentence. And this he thought an excellent way to ingage their Services to him, better then if he should force them to be present by direct and open punishments. This was one way whereby he taught them to be always upon Duty: Another was by commanding those that were present no-

thing but what was cally and for their advantage

to do; another way was, by giving them nothing who were absent. But if none of these courfes proved effectual, his last way of dealing with them was to take away their Estates, and give them to those who he thought would attend upon him better. And by this means, he gain'd a profitable Friend instead of one that was unprofitable. And this manner of animadverting upon those that are absent when they ought to be upon Duty, is kept up in use by the King of Persia, at this day. And thus did Cyrus behave himself toward those that were absent: But as for those who gave him constant attendance he thought he should fufficiently stir them up to the undertaking of great and laudable Actions, if he himself that was their Prince made it appear that he was emipently indued with all Vertuous accomplishments.

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He observ'd likewise that Men were made much the better by written Laws, but that a good Prince was to men a Law with Eyes: Since he could not The whole only prescribe Rules, but also see and punish the world fol-Violation of them. Upon this account he discove'd Kings exat this time a more then ordinary Zeal for the Ser- ample. vice of the Gods, because he was now in a happier Condition then ever. And now was the order of the Magi first constituted, whose Office was to fing Hymns of Praise to the Gods constantly affoon as 'twas light, and to offer Sacrifice every day. And these Constitutions are now retain'd by the King of Persia. The other Persians imitated him in this his Devotion, because they thought they should prosper the better if they worshipp'd the Gods as he did who was both happy himself, and Comli 5

commanded them to follow the same course. Befides, they thought hereby to ingratiate themselves the more with Cyrus. And he himself also was perfwaded that the Religion of his Subjects would turn to his own interest, being of the same sentiments with those who would rather fail in the same Bottom with those that are Religious, then with those that carry the guilt of some heinous Crime about them. Besides, he thought that if all his Courtiers were season'd with a sense of Religion they would be the less apt to Plot any mischief either against one another, or against himself, who he thought had well deserv'd of his Court.

And whereas he had made it appear that nothing pleas'd him so well as that neither his Friends nor his Fellow-Souldiers should sustain any damage, and that he had an eye to Justice in all his Actions, he thought this would be a means to diffwade others from enriching themselves by indirect Methods.

He was also of opinion that the best way to make his Subjects modest, was by shewing them openly that he fo much revered their opinion of him, that he would not speak or do any undecent thing in their fight. And this he thought an excellent expedient for this reason, because Men are apt to reverence not only Princes, but those whom otherwise they stand in no awe of, if they are modest, more then if they are immodelt. And so do they reverence those Women most whom they perceive to be most Modest.

He thought also that 'twould be an excellent way to ingage the obedience of his Subjects, if he rewarded those openly who obey'd him without any reluctancy, more fignally then others, who had done never so many and so great Services. And this was his constant Practife as well as his opinion.

Moreover he taught them how to use Moderation by shewing them what a Master he was of it himself. For when men observe that he who has the greatest priviledge to be extravagant, behaves himself modestly and soberly, those that have less liberty will beware how they be guilty of any infolence. But the diffinction that he made between Modesty and Moderation was this, that the Modest would avoid all indecencies in publick, but the Moderate in private also.

The best way to recommend continence to his Subjects was, he thought, by declaring as often as he had opportunities of pleasure offer'd him, that he would not be drawn off from what was Vertuous, but that he prefer'd labour joyn'd with Honesty before the sweets of pleasure. And by thus ordering his own Conversation he brought things to that pass, that Inferiours carried themselves with a great deal of Modesty and submissiveness toward their Superiours at the Gates, and that each behaved themselves with a composed gravity. You should see none there extravagant in their Anger, or ungovernably merry, but so orderly that when you saw them you would think they lived up to the very Rules of Vertue. And this was their manner of life at the Court.

Moreover, if he took notice of any that were

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But now for the better inuring them to Military Exercises, he used to lead them out ahunting. Because he thought that might be very advantagious to all parts of Military Service, but especially to riding. For it makes them the better able to fit their Horses in all sorts of places, because they must follow after their Game. Besides, it makes them nimble and active for any performance of Chivalrie, partly by the ambition of Honour, and partly by the defire of gaining the Prey. And here he disciplin'd his Courtiers in the severities of continence, labour, cold, heat, hunger and thirst, And this way of life is used by the King and Court at this day. It may appear from what has been already faid, that he thought none was worthy of the Government who was not better then his Subjects. And also that by this continual exercifing of them, he had sufficiently disciplin'd himself in Continence, and all Military Arts and Exercises. For he led forth others ahunting when there was no necessary occasion for their tarrying at home. But as for his own part, when his business detain'd him at home he used to hunt Beafts, which he kept on purpose in his Parks; Neither would he take any meat till after he had sweated, nor would he bait his Horses till they had been exercised. And to this private hunting he invited his Nobles. And this perpetual course of Exercise was a great improvement both to himself and those that were with him. Thus exemplary did he shew himself.

more then ordinarily diligent and industrious, he incouraged them by gifts, offices, preheminence and all forts of Honours. By which means they all began to be very ambitious of approving themselves to Cyrus. This moreover is to be observ'd in Cyrus, that he did not only think that Princes should excell their Subjects, but that they should endeavour to please and sooth them as much as they could. Whereupon he thought fit to wear the Median Habit himself, and perswaded all his Court to do the like. For if there was any defect in the Body, this Habit he thought would hide it, and represent those that wore it hansomer and bigger then they were. For they have such manner of Shoos that you may hide something in them, so that they will appear a great deal bigger then they are. He gave them also liberty to Paint themfelves, and so to improve their Natural Complexion. Moreover he taught them not to spit openly, or to blow their Noses, and that they should not turn about to gaze at any thing, as if there were nothing which they admired at. And all this he thought would contribute fomething towards the fecuring them from the contempt of the Vulgar. And thus he disciplin'd those whom he intended should partake of the Government, partly by exercifing them, and partly by his own Majestic Example.

But as for those whom he bred up to be Servants, he did not make use of them in any liberal Exercises, or suffer them to wear any Arms. And he took care that they should never want meat or drink upon the account of liberal Exercises. He

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Moreo-

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After what permitted the Servants as often as they went ahunmanner Cy- ting to carry meat with them, but he would not rus was let any of the Nobility do fo. And when they wont to were to take a Journey he led them to Water just treat his Servants.

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as he did his Horses. And when 'twas dinner time with them he would stay till they had eaten fomething, lest they should be over-hungry. So that the Servants as well as the Nobles would call Cyrus their Father, forasmuch as he provided

for them so well, that by their own consent they would never be any other then Slaves. And thus did Cyrus strengthen and confirm the Persian

Empire.

But as for those whom he had conquer'd, he apprehended himself in no danger from them. For he confider'd that they were but in a weak Condition, and under no Order or Discipline. And befides none of them was permitted to come near him, either by night or day. But for those who he faw were the throngest, and furnish'd with Arms, and embodyed together in a great number, and who were partly Commanders of Horse and partly of Foot, and whom he perceiv'd to be of great Spirits fit for Government, and who had near access to Cyrus his Guard, and many of which us'd to come oftentimes to Cyrus himself (which could not be avoided because he had occasion to use their Service) these indeed he was affraid of, and that upon several accounts. Considering therefore with himself how he might secure himself from them, also he thought 'twas not his best way to disarm, them, and render them unfit for War; because that could not be done without injury and the overthrow of his Kingdome. Again not to give them admission, and to declare his distrust of them openly, would, he thought, prove the occasion of a War. Instead therefore of all this, he thought the safest and most honourable way, would be to make the chiefest men among them more affectionately disposed toward himself then towards one another. And he took this course to affect it. In the first place, he endeavour'd upon all occasions to shew as much candour and courtefy toward them as he could; as knowing how hard a thing 'tis to love those whom you think disaffected toward you, and how hard on the other hand 'tis to hate those of whose kindness toward your self you have full conviction. As long therefore as he was not in a Capacity to oblige them by Gifts, he endeavour'd to win upon their Affections, partly by confulting their welfare, partly by labouring for them, and partly by shewing them how much he rejoic'd at their Prosperity, and how much he was troubled at any ill that befell them.

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But affoon as he was in a capacity to bestow Cyrus his Collations upon them, he observ'd that no favour Liberaliof the same value was more acceptible to men, then to have meat and drink given them. Whereupon he gave order concerning his Table, that they should set before him meat enough to suffice a great many men of the same fort, with that which was for his own eating. And of this he always diffributed among his Friends, to shew how mindful he was of them, and how much he loved them. Moreover he sent meat to them whom he perceived to be diligent on their Guard or officious to ferve and Honour him, telling them withal, that he was not ignorant of the good will of those

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who were defirous to please him. He vouchsafed also the same Honour to his Domestics when he was minded to incourage any of them. And he order'd that all the meat of those his Domestics should be put upon his own Table, thinking this would be a great indearment to them as 'tis to Children. And if he had a mind to recommend any of his Friends to the esteem of a great many, he would send them meat from his own Table. And 'tis the manner at this day for all men to Honour and Reverence those who have any thing sent them from the Kings Table. Because they look upon them as special Favorites who have an interest to gain any thing for them if need be. Neither is it upon these accounts only that those things are most welcom which are fent from the King, but those meats are really more delicious which come from the Kings Table: And no wonder. For as other Arts arrive to higher improvements in great Cities, so are the Kings meats more curiously order'd then any other. For in little Towns it belongs to one Trade to make Bedsteads, Gates, Ploughs and Tables, and build Houses: And 'tis well if they can get their living so. But now 'tis impossible that those who are taken up in so many employments, should do them all well. But in great Cities where there are a great many that want each of these, one of these Trades is enough to maintain a Man. Nay, oftentimes one does not ingrofs a whole Trade to himself, but one makes mens Shoes, and another Womens Shoes. Sometimes 'tis maintenance enough for one man to work Shoes, and for another to cut them out. Sometimes 'tis one man's work to cut out Cloaths, and another's to make them

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up. Wherefore when each man's task is but little, he can't choose but do it well. And this is the very case in Victuals. For when it belongs to one and the same Person to make Beds, lay the Cloth, knead the Dow and cook the Meat, he must needs do these things but very indifferently. But when ones whole business is to boyl meat, and another's to roast it. When 'tis ones work to boyl Fish, and another's to frie it, and another's to bake Bread, and of that too only one particular fort, these things in my opinion must needs be done very artificially. And thus did Cyrus exceed all men in obliging his Friends with his meat.

But how eminent he was for obliging his Friends in other things also, I am now to relate. For altho' he excell'd other men in this, that he had a very great revenue, yet he excell'd them more in his munificence. And this custom of making great Collations begun by Cyrus, is still in use with the Kings of Persia. For who has more wealthy Friends then the Perfian King? What King is there whose Nobles are more splendidly habited then his? Who is there that gives such noble Gifts, fuch as are his Jewels, and Bracelets, and Horses with Golden Bridles? For with the Persians none are fuffer'd to have these things but those to whom the King gives them. Who is there besides that ever so far indear'd himself by his liberality as to be belov'd more then Brothers, Parents or Children? Who could ever revenge himself upon his Enemies who were distant from him the space of many months Journey so as the King of Persia? What other Prince after he had destroy'd the Kingdomes of other Nations so ended his days as to be call'd

call'd a Father by his Subjects, befides Cyrus? Now 'tis well known that that's a Name which uses to wbo abe given more to them that bestow benefits, then to mongst the them that invade what is anothers. It is faid Perlians, are ac-

moreover, that Cyrus made fure to himself those gounted the who are call'd the Eyes and the Ears of the Hyes and Ears of the King no other way then by obliging them with Kings.

Gifts and Honours. For when 'twas observ'd that those that inform'd him of any material concern, were sure to be rewarded, every one would lie at catch for some discovery or other which might make for the Kings interest. And hence arose that Proverbial saying among them, that the

King had a great many Eyes and a great many Ears. Now if any one is of opinion that 'twould be more for the Kings interest to have but one very

confiderable eye or ear, he is much out of the way. For one can see or hear but a very little, and befides if this charge were committed only to one,

'twould look as if all the rest had a Patent to be negligent and heedlefs. And befides whomfoever they knew to be the Kings Eye they would be a-

ware of him. But 'twas not so here, for the King would give ear to any one that offer'd any confiderable information. And by this means 'twas thought that he had a great many Eyes and Ears,

and people were affraid to speak anywhere against the King as much as if he was present. Nay, they were so far from whispering any thing amiss of

him to any Eody, that every one was so affected as if all those with whom at any time he convers'd were the Kings eyes and ears. Now I can affign

no other reason that men were thus generally asfeeted toward him, but that he was wont to re-

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repay small deservings with great Favours.

Neither is it any wonder that he exceeded all others in the magnificence of his Gifts, in regard he was so very rich. But that he who was a King should condescend so far as to outdo his Friends in Obsequiousness and Courteousness, that indeed is much to be admired. For 'tis said of Cyrus, that he was never fo much asham'd upon any occasion, as when he was outdone by the Kindness of his Friends. And 'twas a common faying with him, Cyrus's his

that a good King was in all points like a good parallel be-Shepherd. For a Shepherd after he has contribu- Shepherd ted to the welfare of the Sheep, and put them in and a good to a good plight, may then make use of them. King.

And so 'tis but right that a King should be serv'd by those Cities and Men whose Happiness he has minister'd unto. And therefore since he was of such

Sentiments, 'tis no wonder that he endeavour'd to outdo all Men in Offices of kindness. There is a very notable piece of Instruction

which he gave to Crefus, who told him that he would beggar himself in a little time by his over-liberalnels; whereas, being a fingle Man he might hoard up great Treasures. Then Cyrus ask'd Cyrus him; And how much Money do you think I makes a might have had, if as you would have me I had Demonstra-

hoarded up ever fince I came to the Crown? Then tion to Cra-Crassus nam'd a very large Sum. Then said Cyrus, sus of b's Well Crassus, I would have you send some Body ble treasure. whom you can best confide in with my Hystaspas. And do you Hystashur, go about to all my Friends,

and tell them, that I have an Occasion for some Money (and indeed, so I have) and that every

one of them should supply me with as much as he Κk can

pay

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can spare, and that he should deliver it seal'd up in Letters and superscribed to Crasus's Servant, to be brought to me. And when he had written fome Letters to the same purpose, he gave them to Hystassas to carry to his Friends; whom also he defired to receive Hystaspas as a Friend of his. He when he had gone his round, and Crasis his Servant was return'd with the Letters, told Cyrus. that now he must treat him as a rich Man, for he was come to him with a great many Gifts. Then said Cyrus, look Crafus, here is one of my Exchequers, and do you compute now the rest, and confider how well I am provided with Money, if occasion be. Crasus, upon Computation found that it came to a great deal more than he said Cyrus would have had, if he had hoarded up himself. Then said Cyrus to him, do you see now Crasus that I have my Treasures too? But you would have me by hoarding expose my felf to envy and hatred, and trust a parcel of Mercenary Keepers. But I think my inrich'd Friends are my best Treasurers, and more faithful Keepers, both of my Person and of my Wealth, than if I should intrust it in the Hands of a Mercenary Guard. But I have another thing to tell you, Crasus. I must confess that I am not free from that Humour, whereby the Gods have made every Man poor, for, I have as unfatiable thirst after riches, as another Man. But I think there is this difference between me and other Men, that when they have got more Money then what is sufficient, they either hide it under Ground, or else give themsclves perpetual Trouble by counting it over and over, and weighing it, and turning it up and down.

down, and keeping a careful eye over it. And yes, in the mean time, while they have it, they neither eat any more then they can bear away, for then they would burst; neither, do they wear more Cloaths then they can carry, for then they would be stifled. But that superfluity of Wealth serves to no purpose, but only to disturb and disquiet them. I, in the mean time ferve the Gods and defire more. But when I have more then will serve my turn, I relieve my Friends with the overplus; and thus by inriching Men, I gain their good-will; which makes both for my Security and my Credit. My Wealth, in the mean time is neither confum'd with rust, nor oppresses me with its weight. But now for Glory, the more it is, the more splendid and the lighter to be born, and oftentimes it makes those the more expedite that carry it. And belides Crasus, I don't think those the happiest Men that possess and keep most, for then those that keep the Walls of a City would be the only happy Men, because all that is in the City is in their Custody. But I take him to be the happiest Man in point of Riches who can procure most, and come honestly by it, and when he has it can put it to a commendable use. These were his Words, and his Actions were conformable. Moreover observing that the generality of Men while they are in good health make it their business to store themselves with things necessary and use-

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ful for the time of fickness, and withal observing that they did not much concern themselves about it, he thought it was his part to provide here alfor Wherefore he fummon'd together the best Physicians because he would spare no cost. And what-

foever Kk 2

foever Instruments, Medicaments, Meats or Drinks he

was told were convenient he laid up great store of

them all in readiness. And if any of his Friends

were fick he would come and look upon them him-

felf, and supply them with all Necessaries. And

he would give the Physitians thanks as often as they

had cured any by those Medicines which he had laid

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book VIII. contrived to make his Nobles love him better then

they did one another.

up. By these and many more such Arts, Cyrus gain'd himself great esteem among those by whom he would be belov'd. It made also much for Cyrus his Commendation that he provok'd his Souldiers to Emulation by fetting up Martial Games and proposing rewards to the Victorious, in as much as therein he shew'd how much 'twas his Care to keep up the Exercises of Martial Vertue. And these Games did occasion a great deal of Contention, and Animosity among those of the chiefest Rank. Wherefore Cyrus made an order that as often as there was any Cause to be decided, both parties should repair together unto the Judge. And then to be sure both the Adversaries would have recourse to such a Judge whom they thought the best, and most favourable to themselves. So that he that was cast would envy him that overthrew him, and hate him that gave it against him. And on the other fide, he that won the day would impute his Victory to the equity of his Cause, and think himself indebted to no body. And so those who contended to be chief among Cyrus his Friends, did envy one another as much as those that dwell in Cities. Infomuch that most of them could wish one another out of the way, rather then do one another any kindness. And these were the Arts by which Cyrus contrived

The next thing we have to relate is the manner The Majelty of Cyrus's Procession out of his Palace. For the and pomp of Majesty of this Procession seems to be one of those Cyrus, Arts whereby he secured the Dignity of his King- when the dom. In the first place therefore, before he came his Palace. forth, he call'd all the Persians, and all others that were in any Office, and distributed Median Garments among them. And indeed that was the first time that the Persians wore the Median Habit. And while he was distributing them, he told them he would go to some of the Temples which they had set apart for their Gods and do Sacrifice. Wherefore be ye all ready at the Gates adorn'd in this Habit before Sunrifing, and do you stand in such order there as Pheraulas the Persian shall direct you to from me. And when I go before you, do you follow as you are directed. And if any of you can think of a better way of Procession, let them shew it when we come back: For all things shall be done for the best. After he had distributed the best Garments among those of the best quality, he brought forth other Median Garments. For he had made Provision of all forts, Purple, Brown and Scarlet. And having divided these among his Captains, he order'd them to adorn their Friends in like manner as he did them. Then faid fome of those that stood by: And when do you mean to adorn your felf Cyrus? To which Cyrus reply'd, and don't I feem to you to be adorn'd now while I adorn you? For to long as I can be beneficial to you my Friends, whatsoever Garment I wear I shall think my felf fine in it. So they went away and dress Kk 3

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drest their Friends with that Habit which Cyrus had recommended to them.

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Now Cyrus looking upon Pheraulus to be a Man of quick ready parts (tho' of mean quality) and one that lov'd neatness and order, and withal one that was very careful to please him, he calls him to him, and consults with him how he might so order his Procession as to make it a delightsom Spectacle to his Friends, and a dreadful one to his Enemies. And when they had agreed both upon the same Method he desired Pheraulas to take Care that the Procession might be made the next day in the same order as they had contrived it. As for keeping order in the Procession (says he) I have commanded all to obey you. But that they may do it the more willingly, here take these Coats for the Captains of the Spear-men, and these for the Captains of the Horse-men, and these for the Captains of the Chariots. Pheraulas took them and carried them with him. Affoon as the Captains faw him you are a great Man Pheraulus, (said they) fince you are to order us also what to do. That is not all (replied Pheraulas) but I am to carry your Packets for you too: I have here two Coats you see, one for you and one for him, whereof I offer you the choice. Then he that took the Coat forgetting his envy, ask'd his Counsel which to take. Phrraulas when he had told him which was the better, if you now do tell (fays he) that I gave you the choice, you shall not find me so much your Servant another time. Pheraulas having thus distributed these things as he was commanded, made it his next business to provide for Cyrus his Procession that every thing might be as neat as possible. The next

Book VIII. next day before 'twas light, all things were made clean and put in readincis, and they stood all in a yow on each fide of the way as they use to do when the King is to ride by. And between these rows none might pass unless he were a Noble-Man. There stood also Men with Rods to correct those who made any disturbance. Before the Gates there flood four thousand Guards in four Companies, and on each side two thousand. All the Horse-men likewise were present, and alighted from their Horses with their Hands appearing out of their Cloaks, as the manner of the Persians is to this day when they are in the Kings fight. The Persians stood on the Right-Hand, the others on the left-Hand of the way, and after the same manner were the Chariots divided half on one side, and half on the other. After the Gates of the Palace were open'd, In the first place four great fair Bulls were led forth to be sacrificed to Jupiter and the other Gods, according as the Magi had appointed. For the Persians make use of Artists more in Divine Service then in any thing else. Next to the Bulls there were Horses led to be Sacrificed to the Sun. After them was drawn a white Chariot with a Golden Harness, crown'd with Garlands, and facred to Jupiter. After that followed a white Chariot of the Sun, crown'd like the other. After these follow'd a third Chariot whose Horses had scarlet-Trappings. And after these came Men with fire in a great Hearth. Next came forth Cyrus himself in his Chariot with a Perfian Ornament upon his Head and a purple Robe half-white (which is an Habit peculiar to the King) and filken Garters upon his Legs, and a loose Veil all purple upon his Shoulders K k 4

ders: upon his Head he wore a kind of Diadem and a certain badg proper to those of the Royal Blood which is now still in use. His Hands he held forth out of his Sleves. Affoon as he appear'd in view they all reverenc'd him with a very low bow, either because they had orders to do so, or because they were affected with the pomp and grandeur of the thing, or because Cyrus appear'd tall and graceful. However 'twas, 'tis certain that Cyrus never had such Veneration from any of the Persians before that time. But now when the Chariots of Cyrus was come forth the four thousand Guards march'd before, and two thousand attended on each fide of the Chariot. The Nobility follow'd after on Horseback in their Robes with Javelins in their Hands, in number about three hundred. Next after these were led two hundred Horses that were kept for Cyrus his use, with Golden Bridles and embroider'd trappings. After these follow'd two thousand men with long Spears, after them ten thousand Horse-men divided all along by hundreds, whose Leader was Chrysantas. After them ten thousand of the Persian Horse alike arm'd led by Hystaspas. After them other ten Thousand led by Datamas. After them another Company led by Gadatas. After these came the Median Horse, then the Armenians, then the Hyrcanians, then the Cadufians, and then the Sacians. After these Horse-men follow'd Chariots four in a Brest, led by Artabates the Perfian. As they were marching in this order, a great many men would be apt to run out of their Ranks to beg Favours of Cyrus. Wherefore he fent to them some of his Nobles, who waited three of each side of his Chariot, on purpose to carry Mes-Sages,

fages, and bade them tell them that if anyone had any petition to present he should impart it to the under-Officers, who should Communicate it to him. Whereupon they went their way to the Horsemen, and confidered whom they were best go to. Cyrus when he was minded to Honour any of his Friends publickly, he would fend and call them to him feverally, and thus befpake them: If any of those that are behind should say any thing to you, if it be not material do not regard it. But if they defire any thing that is reasonable I would have you acquaint me with it, that so we may consult together in common what to do. Whenfoever Cyrus call'd for any they rode to him with all the speed and readiness they could, and by their Obsequiousness'added much to the grandeur of his Empire, and shew'd how ready they were to obey him.

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Only there was one Diapharnes a Man of a roughcast Temper, who thought it a point of Gentility and Freedom not to feem so ready and Officious to obey. Which when Cyrus took notice of, before he was come near enough to speak to him, he sent him word by one of his Nobles that he had now no more business with him, neither did he ever fend for him afterwards. But he that was call'd for after him, rode up to Cyrus long before him. Whereupon Cyrus gave him one of his led Horses, and commanded one of his Nobles to attend him whither he fent him. This was thought by those that faw it to be a very great Honour, and this procured him more reverence. When they were come to the Altars they burnt whole Bulls in Sacrifice to Jupiter. Then to the Sun they Sacrificed whole Horses.

Horses. Then they offer'd Sacrifice according to

the direction of the Magi in Honour to the Earth.

And afterwards to the Herges of the Syrian Country,

When they had performed this, because they were

come into a very pleasant place, he measured out a piece of Ground five Furlongs long, and ordered

some Select Persons to run their Horses for Maste. ry. He himself with the Persians that were of his

side were Victors, because he was well skill'd in

managing a Horse. Among the Medes Artabazus

had the Victory, for Cyrus had given him one of

his Horses. Among the Syrians he that led them. Among the Armenians Tigranes. Among the Hyr-

canians the Commander of the Horse his Son. Among the Sacians a certain private Souldier outrod

the rest of the Company by half of the Race. And here 'tis said that Cyrus ask'd the Young-man whe-

ther he would part with his Horse for a Kingdom.

The Young-man made answer, I would not take

a Kingdom in Exchange, but I would part with

him to oblige a good man. Well then, fays Cyrus,

I will shew you a place where if you fling any

thing winking you can't miss a good man. Shew

them me (replied the Sacian) that I may fling this clod among them. Then Cyrus pointed him

to a place where a great many of his Friends

were. He flung at a venture with his Eyes shut,

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Life of Cyrus the Great. Cyrus. I'm sure (says the Young-man) it could be none of those that are absent. Yes, says Cyrus,

that he did not turn back? Why he is a mad man (replied Cyrus) as you see plain enough. When the Young-man heard this he went to fee who 'twas. And as he was going he met with Pheraulas with his Beard and Chin all bloody,

upon what account, says Pheraulas. Here the Sacian up and told him the whole business, and

man. Then said Pheraulas, had you been wise you

the Gods (by whose will it fell out that you hit

a requital that you may not repent of this Gift. But now for the present, here take my Horse, and I will

exchange.

Among the Cadufians, Rathonices overcame. Cyrus made the Chariots also run races. And to all the Victors he gave Oxen to feast withal and Cups. He himself took an Ox because he was Victor, and gave Pheraulas part of his Cups because he had pleased him in ordering the Procession. And this same way of Procession which was then instituted by Cyrus is still retain'd by the King at this day, only there are no Oxen led forth when there

opening his Eyes ask'd who 'twas that he had struck. None of those that are here, answer'd Cyrus.

and by chance hit Pheraulas as he passed by. For Pheraulas he was at that time employ'd upon a Message by is solely in-Cyrus. When he was struck he would not so much tent upon as turn about, but went on without any Intermif-Cyrus his sion to do what he was sent about. The Sacian, Busine's.

you struck him that rides full speed by those Chariots yonder. How comes it to pass then, says he. which was caused by the bleeding of his Nose. When he was come to him, he ask'd him whether he had been struck or no. You see I have, replied he. Then (fays he) i'll give you this Horse: withal (fays he) I think I have not miss'd a good would have referv'd this present for a greater Man then I am. But I accept it, and heartily defire of me) that I may be in a capacity of making such be with you again by and by. And so they made an

Pheraulas bis Grati-

zude.

is no Sacrifice to be offer'd. After they had made an end of this folemnity they return'd to the City, and those who had Houses given them repair'd to them, those who had not, went to their Ranks. But Pheraulas entertain'd the Sacian who gave him the Horse, in his own Lodgings, and among other rarities, after Supper he fill'd those Cups which he had of Cyrus, and drank to him out of them, and afterwards gave them to him. The Sacian looking about him, and feeing a great deal of fine Hangings and other rich furniture, and a great many Servants, tell me Pheraulas (fays he) are you one of those who are great Men only at home? Yes (replied Pheraulas) I am one of those great Men that get their living with their Hands. My Father made a hard shift to maintain and educate me while I was a Boy, by his own Labour, but when I grew up to be a Man, because he could not keep me in Idleness, he put me out into the Country to Work. And there I in requital afforded him a maintenance by delving in my Garden, and by husbanding a little Field, but one that was very just and grateful. For whatsoever it receiv'd, it return'd with Interest. And one time above the rest. I remember it return'd me double increase. And after this rate I lived while I was at home. But now all these things which you see here, Cyrus gave me. Then said the Sacian, Well I take you to be a very happy Man as in other respects, so particularly upon this account, because from a Poor Man you are made rich. For your former want and vehement defire of Riches must needs make them relish much the better now you have them. Do you think then (replied Pheraulas) that I live

fo much the pleasanter now I am Rich? I don't find that my Meat; Drink, or Sleep is one jot sweeter now then 'twas when I was Poor. This is all Pheraulas that I get by being Rich, that now I have more his generous to keep, more distributions to make, more to mind in Care for, and more Trouble to undergo. For contemning now I have a great many Servants to be fed and cloth'd, and physic'd. One brings me word that my Sheep are torn by Wolves, another, that my Oxen have broke their Necks from a Precipice, and

another that a Pest is got among my Cattel. So that I am apt to think I have had more Trouble and Vexation in my great Possessions, then when I had nothing at all. But however (fays the Sacian) when you fee all things prosper and thrive. you must needs enjoy more pleasure in your large Possessions then I. Ay but (says Pheraulas) there is not half fo much Pleasure in possessing as there is Trouble in losing. And the Truth of what I say will appear from this Observation, that the pleasure of having a great Estate does not hinder a man from Sleeping; whereas those that lose any thing cannot Sleep for the forrow and Vexation. Neither can a man Sleep for pleasure when he has newly received something. You say true, replied Pheraulas, for if 'twere as pleasant to possess a thing as 'tis to receive it, the Rich Man would have the advantage of the Poor Man by much in Happiness. But he that has a great deal must make great disburfements, partly for the Service of the Altar, partly in collations upon his Friends, and partly in Hospitality towards Strangers. Whosoever therefore has his Heart much set upon Money,

must needs be much troubled at every expence. But But (fays the Sacian) I am not of that number. for I think the greatest happiness of having a great deal lies in this, that a Man may spend a great deal. Well (replied Pheraulas) you are a happy

Man, and have made me so too. Take therefore all that is here and do with it what you please, and keep me with you in the Nature of a Guest, or if you please somewhat meaner. For 'twill content

me well enough to partake of what you have: you jest sure, replied the Sacians No, says Pheraulas, I Iwear I am in earnest. Neither is this all that I

will do for you, for I will prevail with Cyrus to dispense with your absence at Court, and to exempt you from all Military Services, that so you may live in all manner of plenty at home. This I will

do both for my own fake and yours. And if I chance to get any other good thing either by my ferving of Cyrus, or by any Military Office, that will I bring to you to increase your store. Only do you eafe me of this Care. For if I may be

difingaged from these things, I believe you will be very ferviceable both to me and Cyrus. After this pass'd between them, they struck a bargain and stood to it. And so the one thought himself now very happy in that he was Malter of fornuch

in that he had a Steward to manage his business for him, and that he was now Master of his own

Wealth, and the other thought himself most happy

time.

Now 'twas the Nature of Pheraulas to take **Pheraulas** his Natural great delight in making Friends. And 'twas his isposition. opinion that there was not so much pleasure and profit to be had from any one thing as from obliging Men. For among all Creatures he took Man

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to be the best and the most grateful, because he saw that those who were commended by any one would be very officious in commending them again, and that Men were very forward to oblige them who had shewn them any favour. And that they were more grateful to their Parents then any other Creatures, whether alive or dead. Pheraulas therefore was very glad that being now disentangled from other Cares he could serve his other Friends. And the Sacian was as glad on his fide that he should now live in a plentiful Condition. The Sacian loved Pheraulas because he always brought him some new thing. And Pheraulas loved him because he would receive all, and tho' he had daily more and more to look after, yet he took all the Trouble to himself. And this was the manner of

life which they led.

Cyrus, when he had done Sacrifice, and made a Feast for joy of the Victory, invited some of his choice Friends whom he knew to be well-affected towards him. And amongst these he invited Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Armenian, Hyrcanius the Captain of the Horse, and Gobryas: Gadatas had the ordering of the Feast. And as often as Cyrus had any to Sup with him Gadatas did not fit down, but mind his Charge. But if Cyrus had no Company Gadatas used to sit with him. For Cyrus was mightily delighted with the Conversation of Gadatas, who upon that account was much hor Cyrus obnour'd by Cyrus, and by others for Cyrus his fake ferves actr-When the Guests that were invited were come to tain Me. Supper, he did not place them at a venture, but the his whom he honour'd most he set at the left-Hand, Guests at because that is most exposed to Treachery, the rable.

next to him he placed on the right-Hand, the next on the left again, and fo on. He thought it convenient to have it known openly how much every one was honour'd. For when Men think that he that excells the rest has neither honour nor reward, 'tis impossible there should be any Emulation between them. But when 'tis observ'd that the best Man has the preference, then all contend for eminency with the greatest alacrity. And thus Cvrus quickly made it appear by seating his Guests who were his greatest Favorites. But he would not that every one should always sit in that place which was first allotted him. But he settled it for an order, that he that had done any Worthy Action should be advanced to a more Honourable Place; and that he that behaved himself ill should be degraded. Cyrus also thought it would restect upon him, if he did not bestow some signal benefits upon those whom he prefer'd in fitting. And these Institutions of Cyrus are still observ'd.

While they were at Supper Gobryas did not at all admire at the splendidness of the entertainment, because he consider'd the greatness of the Person. But he could not chuse but wonder to see that a Person of Cyrus his Quality, when-ever he lighted upon a more delicate bit then ordinary, would not eat it alone, but trouble himself with asking his Friends to partake with him. Nay, he observ'd that sometimes he would send some of his delicacies to his absent Friends. Wherefore says Gobryas to Cyrus when Supper was ended, I thought before that your excellence above other men lay in your skill of Military Discipline: But now I see you are a better Friend then a Souldier. I consess (replied

Cyrus)

Cyrus) the Offices of kindness are much more pleafing to me, then the Works of Military Discipline. And why so? Says Gobryas. Because (says he) whenever I shew these I do Mischief, whereas the other are beneficial to Mankind.

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When they had drank pretty freely, says Hysta- why Cyrus spas to Cyrus, Will not you be angry with me, prefer'd Cyrus, if I ask you tomewhat which I have a mind Chrysanto? No. I shall rather be angry with you (favs tas he) if I perceive you suppress any thing which you hystaspas. would ask me about. Then tell me, Cyrus, did I ever refuse to come when you sent for me? Good Words pray, replied Cyrus. Was I ever flack in obeying your Orders? No, nor that. Did you ever Command me any thing which I did not perform? No. I have no reason to complain of any such thing. But of all the things which I have done, is there any that was not done with that chearfulness and pleasure as it ought? No, I can least of all tax you with that. Then tell me, Cyrus, how has Chrysantas so far obliged you, that he should be placed in a more Honourable Seat then my felf? Shall I tell you? Say'd Cyrus. Yes, by all means, replied Hystaspas. But then you must also promise me that you will not be angry when you hear the Truth. No, I shall be rather pleased, if I find I am not wrong'd. Why then in the first place, this Chryfantas did not use to stay till he was sent for, but would come to me of his own accord, when he thought I had any business for him to do. Besides, he did not only do what was commanded him. but whatsoever he thought would be for my profit to have done. And as often as any thing was to be faid to my Fellow-Souldiers he would always give

Gobryas admires the Humanity of Cyrus.

Book VIII. give me his advice concerning whatfoever he thought agreeable to be spoken. And when he observ'd that I would fain have my Souldiers know fomething, but was hindred by overmodefty from delivering it my felf, he would so declare the matter to them as if 'twas his own opinion. Upon this account therefore he was a greater Friend to me then I to my felf. Belides, he always declares himfelf content with the present, but for my profit he thinks he can never enough improve it. In the last place, he rejoyces more for any good Fortune of mine, then I do my self. Then said Hystaspas, By Juno I'm glad that I ask'd you about this. Why so? Say's Cyrus. Because (say's he) I will now endeavour to do the same. But I'm ignorant of one thing, how I shall make it appear that I rejoyce at your good Fortunes. Must I shew it by clapping my Hands, or by laughing, or what must I do? Then said Artabazus you must cut a Persian Caper. At which Words they all fella laughing.

When they had drank on a little higher, fay's Cyrus to Gobryas, Tell me, Gobryas, are you more willing to bestow your Daughter upon one of these now, then when you were first Conversant among us? Will you give me leave to tell Truth? Replied Gobryas. Yes (lay's Cyrus) for no Question stands in need of a lie. Then (fay's he) I am more willing. Can you give us a reason for it? fay's Cyrus. Yes I can. Because then I observ'd that you could not bear labours and dangers with an even and patient Spirit. But now I perceive you can bear Prosperity with the same Moderation. And I think (Cyrus) that 'tis a rarer thing to find one that

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that can bear Prosperity as he should, then Adversity. For the former is apt to make Men Infolent, whereas the latter is apt to make them Modest. Then said Cyrus, Do you hear Hytaspas, what Gobryas fays? Yes (fays he) and if I hear any more of the same from him, I shall be a more earnest Suiter for his Daughter than if he shew'd me his Cupboard

full of Plate. Why, fays Gobryas, I can shew you a great deal more of the same in writing, if you will marry my Daughter. Then fay'd Cyrus, If

you Hystaspas, or any of the rest will but tell me when you have a mind to Marry, you shall see how

much I will befriend you. But suppose (said Gobryas) any of us be minded to Marry his Daughter, whom must we tell that to? Make me privy

to that too, replied Cyrus, for I understand this Art mighty well. What Art? Says Chryfantas. Why, the Art of match-making. Then tell me

(says Chrysantas) what kind of Wife would be fittest for me. In the first place (says he) one that Cyrus is little, because you are a little Man your self. joaks with

Whereas if you Marry a tall Woman, when ever you his Courtihave a mind to kiss her as she stands upright, you ers. must leap like a Camel. That (replied the other)

is well thought of, for I am not at all made for a Leaper. In the next place, one that has a flat Nose would be very suitable for you. Why so?

Because (says he) you your felf have a crookt Nose, and those two would do very well together. Is it

fit then (fays he) that I that have made a full Supper should Marry one that is fasting? Yes (says Cyrus) because a full Belly is hooked, and an emp-

ty one is flat. Then faid Chryfantas, Can you tell me what kind of Wife is fit for a King that is Fri-

gid?

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gid? Here Cyrus and the rest of the Company fell a laughing. Then said Hystaspas, you are the happiest Man in your Kingdom, Cyrus, for one thing. What is that? fays Cyrus. Because the you are fo Frigid, yet you can move laughter. Then faid Cyrus, I'l warrant you would not for a good deal but that you had faid these things, that it may be told your Mistress how witty you are. Thus they droll'd upon one another.

After this, Cyrus brought forth a dress for a Womans Head to Tigranes, and bad him give it his Wife, because she had such a Masculine Spirit, as to accompany her Husband to the Battel. To Artabazus he gave a Golden Cup, to Hyrcanius an Horse, with many other good things. But for your

Cyrus Daughter, Gobryas, I will give her a Husband. You gives in Marriage to Hystaspas the

Gobryas.

shall give me then (says Hystaspas) that I may get those Writings of Gobryas. Then said Cyrus to him, have you an Estate answerable to her Fortune? Daughter of Yes (fays he) and a great deal more. And where (fays Cyrus) does this Estate of yours lie? Why here (fays he) where you fit, who are my Friend. Well (fays Gobryas) that's enough for me. And with that, reaching out his Hand, Give it me, Cyrus (fays he) for I stand to the bargain. Then Cyrus gave Hystaspas his Hand to Gobryas, and he shook Hands with him. Then he gave Hyltaspas a great many fine Gifts to fend to his Mistrels. Chryfantas he took and kiss'd him. Then said Artabazus, Sure Cyrus the Gift which you gave me and that which you gave Chryfantas are not of the fame Gold. Well, but, fays Cyrus, you shall have one of the fame. But when? Thirty years hence, fays he. Well, fays Artabazus, befure to be as good

as your word, for I am resolv'd not tordye before that time. And thus they ended their Banquet for that time. And when they role from Table, Cyrus also rose with them, and brought them, going as far as the Gates. The next day he fent home all those Reformades, who joyn'd themselves to his affistance, except those who were willing to dwell with him. And to those he gave Houses and Lands. Which their Posterity enjoy to this day. They were most of them Medes and Hyrcanians.

He gave also a great many Gifts to those that went away, and after he had given them all full content, he dismiss'd them. Then he distributed Cyrus reamong his own Souldiers, the Money which he wards his had at Sardis. The Captains of ten thousand Souldiers. and his Guard had an extraordinary Portion, every one according to his deferts, but the rest he divided, here and there as he pleased. And when he had given a certain portion to every Captain of ten, he permitted them to distribute to others, as he had done to them. The rest of the Money he order'd to be so distributed, that every Officer should make inspection into those that were under him, and so distribute the remainder according to every ones deferts. And by this means, every one had his due. After the distribution was made a great many said of Cyrus, Sure he must needs be very rich that can give so much to every one of us. Others faid again, But how is that possible, for Cyrus never used to hoard up? But the truth of the business is, 'tis a greater pleasure to him, to give then to possess.

When Cyrus heard of these discourses, and opinions of men concerning him, he call'd his Friends and some others together, and spoke thus to them. I have known fome (my Friends) who would be thought to possess more than they do, out of a delign to appear the more liberal. But in my mind they take the quite contrary way. For when a man has a great deal, and does not communicate to his Friends accordingly, he takes the ready way to be thought illiberal. Again, there are some in the World, who are of a humour to conceal their possessions. But these also seem to me not to do kindly by their Friends, For when the Value of their Estates is unknown; their indigent Friends are loath to make any applications to them for relief. Now I think the greatest Honesty and Ingenuity is to make known what a man has, and to endeavour to get the Reputation of a Liberal Man, according to the meafure of his Estate. Wherefore I will shew you all of my Estate which is to be seen; and as for that which is not, I will give you an Inventory of it. And with that he thew'd them a great part of his Treasures, and as for that which lay so far in that it could not be feen, he gave them an account of it. And now, fays he, I would have you look upon this not as mine, so much as your own. For I have gather'd it together, not that I may spen! it my felf, or squander it away (for that is almost impossible) but partly to Crown your Deserts, and partly to relieve your Necessities. After this manmer did he discourse to them.

But now when he thought matters were fo order'd at Babylon that he might safely be absent from it, he began to prepare himself for an Expedition into Persia. And when he thought himfelf sufficiently provided with all things Necessary, he moved from Babylon. We intend to give a Relation of this Expedition, it being confiderable that so great an Army should be so orderly in laying down their Carriages, and in taking them up again, and so speedy in repairing to their proper Stations upon Occasion. For where ever the King incamps, there all those that attend upon him are upon Duty in their Tents both Winter and Summer. The first thing that Cyrus did, was to pitch his Tent so that it might stand just against the rifing Sun. Then in the next place, he gave order at what distance he would have the Tents of his Guard from his own. Then he appointed the Cyrus Right-Hand place to his Bakers, and the left to takes Care his Cooks. The Right Hand also was allotted for that they be the Horses, and the left for other Cattel. There was order, and fuch distinct order kept that every one might know in their prohis Station both as to measure and as to place. per Stati-Now when they are to make up their Carriages, ons. every one packs up those things together which are assign'd for his proper use, and then there are others whose office is to lead the Horses. So that by this means all the Carriers come to fetch those Goods which are allotted to their Charge, and everyone puts what is his own upon his own Horses. So the same time that serves for the removing the Goods of one Tent, serves for all. And they une load their Carriages after the same manner. Befides, every one in particular receives orders what to

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to do, and what necessaries to provide, and so the same time that serves one to make Preparations in, serves all. And as each of those Ministers that attended on these Affairs, had his proper Station allotted him, to likewise the Souldiers had every one his own place in the Camp, and knew it very perfeely. So that they took to those that were their own immediately without any helitation. For Cyrus confider'd that 'twas a very commendable thing in a Family for every thing to have its proper place, that so in case a man should want any thing he might know whither to go directly for it. But in an Army much more, because delays are there more inconvenient, by how much their Occasions are more fuddain. And withal he confidered what great things were done by a timely application. This was the reason that he busied himfelf so much about the orderly placing of his Men.He made choice of the middle of the Camp for his own Station, because there was the most security. Round about him he had the most faithful of his Guard as he used to have, and round about them his Horsemen, and his Chariots. For these he thought had need of a secure place, because they required some long Preparation before they could use those Arms they had against the Enemy. On the Right and Left-Hand of himself and his Horse-men, was the Station for the Target-men. And before and behind him and his Horse-men stood the Archers. The heavy arm'd Souldiers like a Wall incompass'd all the rest, that so the Horse might be secured while they were preparing themselves if need were. The Target-Men and the Archers slept in the same order with the heavy-arm'd-Souldiers, that fo if

any invalion happen'd by night they might be ready to use their Arrows and Darts at a distance, as well as the other their Weapons near at Hand. Moreover all the Commanders had peculiar Signs before their Tents. So that Cyrus his Guard knew every one of their Apartments, as well as Men know one anothers Houses in the City. And therefore if Cyrus had occasion to use the Service of any of them, they were not long in feeking him out, but went directly to his Tent. And whereas all of every Nation had their feveral Stations by themselves, it was much the eafier to observe who was orderly and obedient, and who not. And being in this order, he thought if any should invade them by day or night, they would light upon his Tents, as upon an Ambuscade. He thought the skill of marshalling an Army did not confift only in knowing how to draw out the Squadrons, or to thicken them, or to make a Squadron of a Wing, or to turn towards the right, or the left, or the Rear, according to the several Postures of the Enemy: But also to know how to spread, as occasion required, and to place every part where it will do most good, and to hasten when there is need of Prevention. These he took to be the parts of a good Commander, and in all these he employ'd his utmost diligence. In his Expeditions he changed his Postures very often according to the variety of accidents. But when he incamp'd he used the fore-mentioned order for the most part.

Now

Now when he was come into the Country of the Medes, he quarter'd with Cyanares. And when they had embraced and faluted one another, Cyrus told him that he had now a Court in Babylon, and that if he would come thither he should be as welcome as at home. After that he made him a great many Presents. Cyawares accepted them, and sent

his Daughter to him with a Golden Crown, Jewels and Bracelets, and a very rich Median Robe. And while the young Lady was crowning Cyrus, Cyaxares offers his fays Cyanares to him, you shall have this Daughter

Daughter of mine, Cyrus, for your Wife. For your Father inMarriage marryed my Fathers Daughter, whose Son you are. And this is she whom you used to play withal while you were with us. And when the was asked by any one whom she would have for her Husband? She would fay, Cyrus. Her Dowry shall be all Media, fince I have no Male Child. These were the words of Cyanares: to which Cyrus return'd this answer, That he liked both the Lady and her Parentage, and accepted of her Gifts; but that he could promife nothing without the confent of his

Marriage Father and Mother, And tho' Cyrus would not abnot to be contracted folutely ingage himself, yet he gave the Lady a great without many fuch Gifts as he thought Cyanares would the confent like. These things being over, he made towards of Parents. Perfia.

Cyrus re-Country.

When he was come within the Confines of Persia, turns into he left the rest of his Army there: He himself with his Friends went to the City, carrying with him Cattel enough to suffice the whole Nation of the Perfians both for Sacrifice and Featting. And Prefents such as were fit to be made to his Father and Mother, Friends, Magistrates, Elders and Peers of

Life of Cyrus the Great. Book VIII. the Kingdom. He gave also all the Persian Men and Women such Collations as use to be given at the return of the King.

His Father Cambyses having call'd together an Cambyses Affembly of the Elders and Magistrates of Perfia, and makes a Cyrus among the rest, made them an Oration to perpetual this purpose. I bear an hearty Affection both to League of you my Persians, and to you Cyrus. And 'tis very Amity bereasonable that I should, for you are my Subjects, son Cyrus and you are my Son. Wherefore it behaves me to and the Communicate to you whatfoever I think may be for Persians.

your Interest. As for what is past, you have confulted the greatness of Cyrus, by giving him an Army, and making him General of it. And Cyrus by the well management of his trust, and the favour of Heaven, has made you great and glorious in the esteem of all Men, and fill'd all Asia with the dread of your Name; has inrich'd the chiefest of those that lifted themselves under his conduct, and took care to supply the common Souldiers both with their pay and their diet. If therefore you continue in the same mind for the time to come, you will mightily contribute to the promotion of each other. But if either you, Cyrus, lifted up with the success of your undertakings, design nothing but your own private interest in the Government of the Persians as of Strangers. Or if you, my Citizens, envy his growing Power, and endeavour to alienate the Kingdom from him; know for certain that you will prove an hindrance to one another in many great Atchievements. In order therefore to the prevention of these mischiefs, it seems good to me that after our solemn addresses made to the Gods, we enter into this Covenant: That you Cyrus in

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case of any forreign invasion or innovation offer'd to the Laws of Persia, be ready to assist the Persians to the utmost of your Power. And that you Persians, if any endeavour to depose Cyrus, or to stir up his Subjects to Rebellion against him, afford him your affishance. While I live the Kingdom of Perha is mine, but after my decease 'tis plain that it devolves to Cyrus. When Cyrus is here in Perfia twill be best for him to offer Sacrifice in your behalf, as I do now. But in his absence, I think it most convenient for one of the Royal Family to do it, whom you shall best approve of. When Cambyfes had thus faid, Cyrus and the Perfian Magistrates agreed upon the Premisses by common consent, and enter'd it among the Decrees. And this folemn League which was then confirm'd is, now constantly observ'd to this day. And when these things were ended, Cyrus departed. And when he was come into Media, by his Pa-

Cyrus marries Cyanares's

Cyrus's

Policy.

rents confent he married Cyawares his Daughter, who, as they fay, was a very beautiful Lady. Some Historians say that he married his Mothers Sister, Daughter. but that's improbable, because she would have been at that time an Old Woman. When the folemnities of his marriage were over, he went away with her. And when he was come to Babylon he thought it now concern'd him to fet Deputy-Governours over the Nations which he had conquer'd; for as for the Governours of the Castles and Garrisons. and the Tribunes of those who were upon Guard all about the Country, he would not have them under any besides himself. For by this means he thought that in case any of the Deputy-Governours, upon the account of their greatness, or the number

of their Subjects, should behave themselves insolently, and refuse to yield obedience, they might have their Adversaries ready to incounter them in the very same Country. Being therefore resolv'd upon this Expedient, he thought it necessary to summon them together, and acquaint them with the businels, that those who were to be sent might know what their errand was. For then he thought they would take it the better. Whereas if they should find it out after they were invested with their Power, he thought they would take it amis, as if they were not fit to be trusted. Having therefore convened them together, he said thus to them: We have Garrisons (my Friends) in our conquer'd Cities, and Governours in them which we left there. To these I gave order at my last parting with them, that they should not attempt any thing of their own Heads, but make it their whole business to look to the Garrisons. Now I do not think it fit to devest these of their Power, because they have so well discharged their trust. But I must send other Deputies who may prefide over the inhabitants of those Countries, receive Tribute and pay the Garrison-Men their Stipend, and do what ever else is necessary to be done. And as for those of you who live here, whom I employ upon business abroad among those Nations, I think I must give you Houses and Lands there, that so they may know whither to bring their Tribute, and that when they come they may be entertain'd. When he had thus faid, he gave most of his Friends Houses and Servants in the conquer'd Cities. And their Posterity have the same in Possession at this day, though they them-

selves relide in the Kings Court. It is necessary

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moreover (says he) that we pick out such Deputies for those Countries, who will be mindful to fend over hither whatever choice Commodity every Country affords, that so we that are here may partake of all manner of their good things. For if any ill befalls them we must be concern'd in their protection. When he had thus faid, he commissioned fome of his choice Friends that were willing to go, to be Deputies according to the Conditions proposed. To Arabia he sent Megabizus. To Cappa. docia Artabazus. To Phrygia the greater Artacamas. To Lycia and Ionia Chrysantas. To Caria Adusius, who was defired by the People of the Place. To Phrygia near Hellespont and Rolis, Pharmichus. But to Cilicia, Cyprus and Paphlagonia, he sent no Perfian Deputies, because they offer'd to side with Cy-

rus against the Babylonians of their own accord. But however, he imposed a Tribute upon these as well as

The Garrisons remain still in the Kings Power according to Cyrus his Constitution at that time, and the Tribunes of the Garrisons are deputed by the King, and their Estates have a tax upon them. Moreover he charged all the Deputies which he fent, that whatever they had feen him do, they should Cyrus his imitate as near as they could. That they should in Command the first place, take their Horse-men and Coach-men to his Depu- out of those Perfians and other Associates that accompany'd them. And that they should make all House-holders and Masters of Estates frequent the Gates, that so they might live temperately, and be ready to serve the Deputy upon any occasion. That they should Educate and Discipline their Children at the Gate, as the manner was with him. That

the Deputy should have those that attended at the Gates out ahunting pretty often, and Exercise both himself and his men in feats of Arms. And for your encouragement (fays he) whofoever according to his Ability shall furnish me with most Chariots, and train up most Horse-men, him will I Honour as an excellent Fellow-Souldier, and one that is a Fellow-Guardian both of the Persian Dominions and of

my own.

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And I would have you honour those that are best deserving with preheminence of place, as I do. And I would have you keep such a Table as I do, one that is sufficient to diet those of your own Family, and withal to spare some portions to your Friends, and to honour those who perform some notable exploit every day. I would also have you keep Forrests for Game, and never to fit down to meals till you have undergon some labour, nor to bait your Horses unexercised. For 'tis impossible, that I alone upon mere Humane Strength should keep up your Interest. But 'tis necessary that I employ all my Courage and Forces to help you, and you all yours to help me. And I would have you also consider, that I lay none of these Injunctions upon Servants which I do upon you. And that what I require from you, is no more than what I perform my felf. In the last place, as I would have you imitate me, so would I have you perswade the inferior Magistrates to imitate you. And according to this order of Cyrus, all the Garrisons are at this day under the immediate Command of the King, all the Gates of the Magistrates are officiously frequented, all Houses great and finall are govern'd the fame way, all those that are eminently deferving are honour'd with preheminence

the rest.

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nence of place. All Expeditions are order'd in the fame manner, and Multitudes of Affairs are compendiously managed by a few Governours. When he had thus instructed them how to demean themfelves, and given every one of them a Company of Souldiers he dismiss'd them, telling them that they must prepare for a General Muster against the next Year. And in this also Cyrus set a Pattern to Posterity, which they still imitate.

For some Body visits all the Countries round with an Army every Year, and if any of the Deputies wants help he helps him. And if any of them behave themselves insolently he controuls him. If any refuse to pay his Tribute, or to defend the Inhabitants, or to manure the Ground, or to perform any of those things which are commanded him, all this he reforms. But in case it be more than he can do, he gives his Information to the King. He upon the hearing of the buliness gives Sentence. Oftentimes the Kings Son, or the Kings Brother, or those whom they call the Kings Eyes, go the rounds privately. For every one of these return again at the Kings Command.

There is another expedient which Cyrus invented for the grandeur of his Kingdom, whereby he might know how the state of things were at never Post-Horses so great a distance. For having consider'd how far first order'd a sound, able Horse could conveniently go in a day, by Cyrus. he order'd Stables to be made at every one of those distances, and he placed Horses in them all with men on purpose to look after them. Moreover in every one of these Stages he order'd one whose bufiness was to receive the Letters that were brought, and to deliver them to others. And to receive the Men

Men and Horses that were weary, and to supply fresh ones. So that these journies sometimes were not ended with the day, but a night Post succeeded the other. And after this rate, they fay they would make dispatch in their journeys equal to the flight of Cranes. But however, that may smell of a Romance, vet this is certain, that of all Foot-journeys there is none to compare with this in Expedition. And 'tis very good, immediately upon the notice of any accident to take Care about I:, without any

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delay. After this year was over, Cyrus gather'd all his Army together at Babylon, and 'tis faid, he had an' hundred and twenty thousand Horse, two thousand hook'd Chariots, and fix hundred thousand Foot. And with these Forces, he made that famous Expedition, wherein 'tis faid, he subdued all those Nati- dues mary ons that live beyond Syria, as far as the Red-Sea. Nations. After this, 'tis said he made an Expedition into Egypt, and overcame it. So that now Cyrus's Dominions were bounded toward the East, with the Red fea, toward the North with the Eumin-Sea, toward the West with Cyprus and Egypt, toward the South with Æthiopia. The extream Coasts of which Countries are scarce habitable, partly through heat, partly through cold, partly through abundance of Water, and partly through the want of it. Cyrus At what himself living in the middle of these, used to spend Places her seven months in the Winter time at Babylon, because us' 10 that's a hot Country. Three months in the Spring make his aat Susa. Two months in mid-summer at Echatanc. And for this he was faid to live always in Summer, Winter and Spring.

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Cyrus is below'd by all.

Vision.

Now he had fuch Interest in the Affections of all Men, that every Nation would think themselves mightily damaged, if they did not fend to Cyrus whatever good things their Country afforded, when ther Natural or Artificial. Every City, nay every private Man thought themselves abundantly rich, if they could but oblige Cyrus. For he accepted eve-

ry Present that was made him, whereof the givers had plenty of the same kind. And in requital supply'd them, with whatsoever he perceiv'd they wanted. After he had lived on after this manner

for a confiderable time, he came again into Persia tast journey (which was the seventh time that he visited it since into Persia. he was King) being now a very old Man. And

now by this time his Father and Mother (as 'tis very likely) had been long dead. Here Cyrus as his manner was, perform'd all the folemnities of Sacrifice, leading a Quire of Perfiant after his Country fathion, and distributed Gifts among his Friends. One

The apday as he was afleep in his Palace, he faw this Viliproach of Cyrus bis on; some body seem'd to come to him in a Divine Death is re-Form, and to speak thus to him. Prepare your self, veal'd to Cyrus, for you are now to go to the Gods. When him in a

he had seen the Vilion, he awoke, and was very sensible that his Life drew now to an end. Whereupon he offer'd Sacrifice to Jupiter the Guardian of his Country, the Sun and the rest of the Gods up-

on the tops of the Mountains (as the custom of the Persians is) and withal offer'd up this Prayer. Accept, O Jupiter, and thou O Sun, and ye other Gods

the Rites which I now perform, and wherewith I

close up many great and brave Actions. I thank

you for instructing me what to do or omit by Entrails, Celestial Signs and Auguries. I also give you many

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many thanks for the fence which I have of your Care of me, and that you have not suffer'd me in the greatest Gales of Prosperity to forget either my self or you. And I intreat you that you would now be propitious to my Children, Wife, Friends and Country. And for my own part, all that I defire of you, is, that you would be as favourable to me in my Death as you have been in my Life.

After this he return'd home, and laid himself down to take a little repose. At the usual time, his Servants came to him to know whether he would walh, he defired them not to diffurb him, for he was in a sweet slumber. At meal time they came after their custom and set meat before him. But Cyrus was not disposed to eat, but seem'd to be very thirsty, and thereupon drank with a great deal of pleasure. When he had continued two or three days in the same condition, he call'd his Children together (who lived at that time in Persia) and his Friends, and the Magistrates of Persia, and when they were all before him, he began this his last Speech to them.

I am affured (my Children and Friends) and Cyrus his that by many tokens, that the end of my Life is now last and at Hand. And I would have you after my decease most wife in all your Words and Actions to behave your selves Speech. towards me as one that is happy; for when I was a Boy I enjoy'd all the excellencies proper to that Age, and when I was a Young-man all that were proper to that, and when I was of a full manly Age all that were agreeable then. And after that I felt my strength still encreasing with my Age. I never perceived my Old-Age to be any thing more infirm then my Youth, neither do I remember that ever

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I defired or undertook any thing which I did not fucceed in. I have seen my Friends advanced in their Fortunes by me, and my Enemies by me reduced to fervitude, and my Country which before made no Figure at all in Asia, I now leave in great Glory and Splendour. Neither did I ever lose any thing of all that I got. And tho' I was successful in all my undertakings for the time patt, yet there was a certain fear of the various turns of Fortune which always cheek'd my riling Spirit, and tempered the extravagance of my joy. But now I die I shall leave you my Children surviving, and my Country and my Friends in a happy State. How then is it possible that Ishould not be esteem'd happy, and live for ever in the memory of Men? But I must declare who shall succeed me, lest the omisfion of that occasion after-disturbances. I love you (my Sons) both alike, but I give the preheminence of Counsel and Government to him that is the Elder, and in all likelyhood has most Experience. For as I have been taught by the customs of our Country to give place to my Elders, not only Broshers but also Citizens, whether in the way, or in fitting, or in speaking; so did I ever accustom you (my Sons) to give place to your Elders, and to take place of your Inferiours. Submit then to what I fay, as that which is primitive, customary, and confirm'd by the Authority of the Laws. The Kingdom then is yours, Cambyses, as much as the Gods, and I can make it. And to you Tanaoxares, I give the Lie utenantship of Media, Armenia and Cadufia. And in this, I think I give you the largest Empire. Your Elder Brother, indeed, has the Name of a King; but you have all the happpiness Book VIII. Life of Cyrus the Great.
of it, without the Trouble. For I cannot imagine

what Humane delight you can want: For you will have the Command of all those things wherein men place Happiness. But now as for the love of those things which are difficult to be accomplish'd, the Trouble and Anxiety in a Multitude of Affairs, a way of life that is a stranger to all rest, and the Defigns and Suspicions of Treachery, all this will be the lot of him that has the Kingdom. And these I am sure are enough to sour the Gaieties and Pleafantness of Life. And I would have you know (my Cambyfes) that 'tis not this Scepter that must be the Guardian of your Kingdom, but that faithful Friends are a Kings best Scepter. But I would not have you think, that Men are faithful by Nature (for then, as all other Natural Agents, they would be alike to all) but those that are faithful mult be made fo. And the way to do that, is not by Violence, but by Obligations and Arts of Indearment. Wherefore, if you have a mind to take any Partners to share with you in the administration of the Government, be fure to take none but those who are of the same Country with your self. For Fellow-Citizens, have a nearer Relation to us, then Forreigners, and those of the fame Family, then Strangers. But those who are descended of, and educated by the same Parents, and have grown up together in the same House, and call the same Persons Father and Mother, how is it possible but that they should be under the greatest ties of Asse-Ction imaginable? Let not therefore those Indearments, whereby the Gods unite Brothers, be bestowed upon you in Vain. But upon these Foundatiens of Nature, do you raise a superstructure of kindness Mm 3

kindness and benevolence, that so your Friendship may be impregnable. For he that takes Care for his Brother, takes Care for himself. For upon whom does the advancement of a Brother reflect so much Ornament and Credit, as upon his Brother? Who will Honour a Person of great Quality, so much as his Brother? Whom will a man more fear, then him who has a Brother in great Power? Therefore, let no Man be more ready to obey your Bro. ther upon all occasions, then your felf; confidering that you are more concern'd in his Prosperity, or Adverfity, then any one befides. And I would have you confider this, Who is there whom you can oblige more to your own Interest, then your Brother? What stronger Associate can you make by your help in War? Whom is it more dishonourable not to love, then your Brother? Whom is it more commendable to observe and honour, then your Brother? Your Brother (my Cambyses) is the only Person whom you may prefer without the hazard of envy. Wherefore I intreat you (my Sons) by the Gods of my Country, that if you have any defire to please me, you would shew it by mutually honouring and loving one another. For I would not have you perswade your selves that after this life of mine is ended, I shall be nothing. For you did not see my Soul while I was living, any more then you will after I am dead, but you concluded it's Existence from it's Operations. Have you not yet observed what terrors the Souls of the Murther'd, frike upon the Murtherers? And how they take revenge upon the wicked? Do you think the dead would retain such nonor as they do among Men, if their Souls had now no being? Indeed (my

(my Children) I could never perswade my self that my Soul had fuch dependence upon my Body as to live while in it, and to perish when out of it. For I see that 'tis the Soul which is the Principle of life to these Mortal Bodies. Neither can I be perswaded that the Soul is destitute of all sence and perception when 'tis separated from this senseless Body. But on the contrary, I find it most reasonable to believe that in this state of purity and freedom, the Soul is much more knowing then before. In the diffolution of a man 'tis plain to be seen that every part returns to it's proper Principle, except only the Soul which is neither visible then nor before. Confider that nothing more resembles death, then sleep does. Now in sleep, the Soul gives the greatest evidence of it's Divinity, and foresees things to come, being then in a state of the greatest freedom. If then the Soul survives after it has taken it's farewel of the Body (as I verily believe it does) fulfil this my defire out of reverence to my Soul. But in case it be otherwise, and my Soul die with my Body, yet however fear the Gods who are Immortal, Omniscient and Omnipotent, who preserve the order of the Universe, and secure it's Beauty and Greatness from the decays of time; fear them, I fay, and have a Care how you commit or defign any Wickednets. And next to the Gods I would have you reverence the succeeding Generations of Mankind. For the Gods have not placed you in the dark, but where your Actions will be conspicuous to the Eyes of the World. Which if they are pure and jult, will advance you among Mankind. But if you deal injuriously one by another, you will have no credit among Men. For how Mm 4

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how is it possible that any should confide in you, when they observe you cannot forbear injuring your nearest Relatives? Now if you think my Instructions are fit to be follow'd, well and good; but if not, I would have you learn by the Examples of those that have gon before us, what is best to be done. There are great examples of the love of Parents toward their Children, and the love of Brothers one towards another. And there are many instances of the contrary: Your wifest way will be to follow the example of those whom you observe to have prosper'd best. Now for my Body after I am dead, I would not have you put it either in Gold or Silver or any other thing, but lay it in the Ground immediately. For what is better then to be hid in the Earth, which is the Mother and Nurse of all good things? For as in my life time I have been a lover of Men, so after my decease 'twill rejoice me to partake of that which is most beneficial to mankind. But I perceive I now begin to fail, and therefore if any one of you have a mind to take me by the Hand, or to look me in the Face now while I am alive, let him draw nigh. But I intreat you (My Sons) again and again, that neither you your selves, nor any man else, offer to stare upon my Body after I am cover?d. Let all the Perfians and my Fellow Souldiers be call'd to my Funeral, that they may congratulate my happiness, as being now out of the reach of all evil, whether I enjoy the fociety of God, or am reduced to nothing. And I would have you beltow upon as many as come, fuch Collations as use to be given at the Funeral of a happy Min. The last instruction which I commend to your Memory is this, that if you do good to your Friends

Friends you will be in a capacity to punish your Enemies. And now (my dear Children) farewel, and commend me to your Mother. And farewel all my Friends, you who are here present, and you who are absent. When he had thus said, and given his Hand to all of them, he cover'd up himself, and died.

Life of Cyrus the Great.

That the Kingdom of Cyrus was the greatest and the most glorious that Asia ever knew, will be evident upon a survey of it. It was bounded Eastward with the Red-Sea, Northward with the Euxin-Sea, Westward with Cyprus and Egypt, and Southward with Æthiopia. And yet tho' twas of fuch a large extent, it was govern'd by the fole ma-The Conclunagement of Cyrus, who honour'd and indear'd his fion of the Subjects to him like Children, and was reverenc'd History, by them as a Father. But affoon as he was dead, which comthere began a feud among his Sons, Cities and Na pares the tions revolted, and all things began to turn for the stomes of worse. And that this may appear to be true, the the Persifirst instance that I give shall be in point of Religi-ans with on. 'Tis well known that formerly if the King or the modern. his Officers had made a solemn contract with any (tho' the greatest Villains imaginable) they stood firm to their Words. For had they not done so, and gain'd themselves the Reputation of Honest Men in the World, those that came over to the aid of Cyrus and accompanied him in his marches, would never have trusted him, any more then they do his Succeffours, who are known to be perfidious. But now when they had committed themselves to them upon the account of their former credit, they were brought before the King and had their Heads cut off. A great many also of the Barbarians who accompanied

companied Cyrus in this last Expedition, were by false pretences decoy'd into their ruine. They degenerate also in this from their Forefathers. For heretofore if any one had hazarded his Life for the King, or had added a City or a Nation to his Dominions, or had done any other remarkable piece of Service for the King, they were fure to be honoured and rewarded for it. But now there is no other way for preferment, but by betraying ones Father as Mithridates did, out of a pretence to serve the King, or by pawning ones Wife and Children and Friends as Leomithres did at Egypt, or by the breach of Vows. And these ill Examples have gain'd upon the greatest part of Asia. For as the Governours are, so for the most part are those that are under their Charge. And by this means, People are more wicked now, then they were formerly.

They are also more given to rapine and extortion, now then before. For they do not only seife upon the notoriously wicked, but upon the innocent, and make them pay Money against all reason and equity. So that now 'tis as dangerous a thing to have a good Estate, as to be wicked. And men are now affraid to converse with those that are in authority above them, or to joyn themselves with the Kings Forces. So that any one that has a mind to wage War against them, may traverse all over the Country without the least resistance, because of their impiety towards the Gods, and their oppressions towards Men. And in this respect also they are worse then formerly.

Neither

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Neither have they the same regard to their Bodies now as they had before. It was a piece of Discipline among them not to spit, or blow their Nofes. But 'tis plain that this was not enjoyn'd to spare the moisture of their Bodies, but that they should make them solid with Labour and Sweat. Now indeed they retain the formality of not spitting or blowing their Nofes, but they care not how little they use bodily Exercise. It was also an order among them to make but one Meal a day, that they might have the more time for Business and Exercife. Now indeed the custom of eating but once a day, still remains, but then they begin assoon as those that dine earliest, and continue at it as long as those that go to bed latest.

They had also a custom not to bring forth any Bottles at a Feast, because they thought it would be best for the Health of their Bodies and Minds not to drink too much. And now indeed there are no Bottles brought into play, but then they drink at fuch a mad rate, that instead of bringing in, they themselves have need to be carried

out.

It was also a custom with them not to cat or drink in a Journey, or to ease nature openly: Now the custom of abstaining from these things is still kept up, but then their journies are so short, that their abstinence is no such great wonder.

Heretofore they used to go abroad ahunting so often, that they had no need of any other Exercise, either for themselves or their Horses: But after that King Artaxerxes and his Nobles began to drown themselves in Wine, they left off all hunting, or if they did now and then use it, yet they would.

Book VIII.

vy'd at and hated those that loved the Exercise of hunting, as better men than themselves. They still retain the custom of disciplining their Youths at the Gates, but to learn the Art of riding is quite out of date, because they are in a place, where they have no opportunity to credit themselves by giving any Specimen of it.

Another instance of their corrupt manners is this, that whereas formerly their Young-men had good notions of Justice instill'd into them by hearing just Judgment given upon Causes in the Court. Now they fee that those win the day who give the largest Fees. Heretofore their Boys were instructed in the Natures of Herbs, that they might use those that are wholsom, and forbear those that are hurtful. But now they Study their qualities only to know how to do mischief. So that there is no where so much poi-

funing as among them.

They are now also more effeminate and Voluptuous, then in Cyrus his time. For then they used the Discipline and Continence of the Persians, and the gallantry and spruceness of the Medes; but now they have let fall the Persian Discipline, and retain the Median Luxury: Of which I will give a little defcription. In the first place, they are not contented to have fost Down Beds, but even the feet of the Bed must rest upon Tapestry, for the pleasure of a yeilding foftness. Then as for their Cookery, nothing of the former inventions is abated, and new Artifices are found out. In the Winter time 'tis not enough for them to have their Head, Body or Feet covered, but they must wear thick Furrs home to the very ends of their Fingers. In the Summer they are

not contented with shady Walks and cool Grotts, but they must have Men stand by and hold Umbrella's over their Heads. If they have great store of Plate, they pride themselves mightily in shewing it, but to have gotten it by indirect means, that they reckon no scandal at all. For they are quite overrun with Injustice and Covetousness.

Life of Cyrus the Great.

Twas a custom with them formerly never to take Journies on Foot, and that for no other rea on but to train them up to riding. But now they have more Cloaths upon their Horses then upon their Beds, for their Care is not to learn to ride well, but to fit easily. Now as for their Military Exercises, how can they otherwise chuse but be much worse then they were? For before 'twas a custom that all those who had Estates should supply so many Horsemen for the Militia, and that the Garrison Men should fight for pay in the defence of their Country. But now the Porters, Bakers, Cooks, Butlers, Keepers of the Bains, those that set the Meat upon the Table and take away, those who have them to Bed, and call them up a mornings, those who Paint them and make every thing fit neat about them, these are the Men whom the Magistrates pick out for Horsemen. And these indeed serve to make up a number of Men, but there is no use of them at all in War, as appears by what they do. For Cyrus took them out of the number of the light-Harness'd Souldiers, and arm'd both them and their Horses, and gave every one of them a Javelin that so he might use them in close fighting.

Now they neither skirmish with the Enemy, nor fight Hand to Hand. Their Foot-men have now their Holbards, their Faulchions and their Axes,

with

with which they may fight, as they did in Cyrus his time, but even these don't dare to ingage. Neither do they use their hook'd Chariots to those purposes for which Cyrus delign'd them. For he had good fout well disciplin'd Coach-men to make an onset upon the Body of the Enemy, whereas the Persians that are now adays, put up them whom they don't fo much as know, and think that such raw undisciplin'd Fellows are able to cope with those that are well Disciplin'd. And these indeed do sometimes adventure to drive in upon the Enemy, but before they can get within them, either they fall out of the Coach-Box, or leap down of their own accord. And then their Chariots having lost their Drivers, do more prejudice to their own Party, then to the Enemy. For when they perceive how poorly they are provided for War, they yield up themselves. Neither will any of them make War without the affiftance of the Gracians, whether they are to fight against one another, or against the Gracians themselves. And thus I think I have made good the Charge which I undertook, viz.

That the Persians and their Co-habitants are now less Religious towards the Gods, less affectionate toward their Relations, more unjust towards others, and more effeminate in War than before. If any one be of a contrary Perswasion, let him consider their Actions and he shall find that they justify the

Character which I give of them.

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